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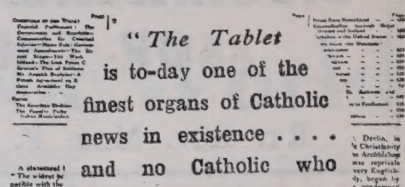

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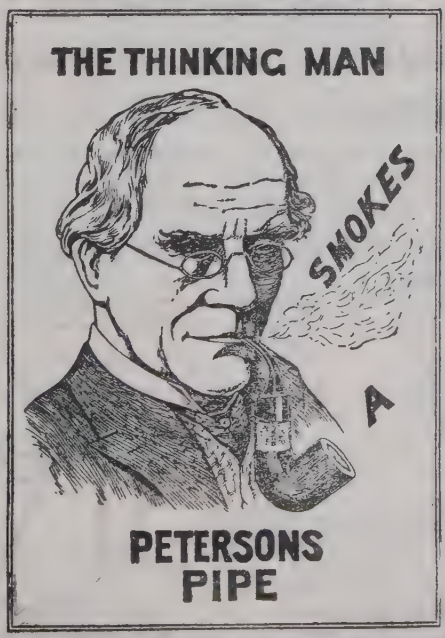

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An Irish Quarterly Review

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LOCAL GOVERNMENT DEVELOPMENTS AT HOME AND ABROAD.[1]

BY JOHN J. HORGAN.

For forms of government let fools contest;
Whate'er is best administered is best.

IN so far as Pope intended to convey in his famous couplet that the substance is of more importance than the form he was right; in so far as he meant to deny that the form expresses and at the same time exercises an influence on the substance he was wrong. The study of forms of government is therefore no idle task, and whilst it is no doubt true that it is unwise for one nation to adopt wholesale the political machinery of another whose racial and national history is entirely different, there are few countries that may not learn from the experience of others and by wise adaptation improve their own government. This is particularly true of local government, where the complexities of modern life and the developments of science raise new and serious problems. Here also the deficiencies of democratic government are most apparent. It is the purpose of this article to review the more recent developments in this department of government elsewhere and to consider their application to Irish conditions.

The Irish Free State has inherited a local government system the defects of which arise largely from its historical development. In the first place it did not

[1] *Local Government in Many Lands. A Comparative Study.* By G. Montague Harris, O.B.E., M.A. (London: King. 1926. 15*s.* net).
Local Government (*Temporary Provisions*) *Act*, 1923, Number 9 of 1923.
Local Authorities (*Combined Purchasing*) *Act*, 1925, Number 20 of 1925.
Local Government Act, 1925, Number 5 of 1925.
Local Authorities (*Officers and Employees*) *Act*, 1926, Number 39 of 1926.

develop from national requirements and traditions, but was imposed from without by the English government—generally for purely political reasons, and always, no matter how well meaning, without real knowledge of Irish conditions. What was good enough for England was *ipso facto* good enough for Ireland also. Could there be a more striking example than the Cinematograph Act of 1909 which placed on the Irish County Councils a duty they were quite incompetent to discharge and so set the stage for the tragedy of Drumcollogher? In the second place local government in Ireland has always been regarded by the people as a side issue. The engrossing nature of the struggle for national self-government caused men to be selected as candidates for local councils rather for their political complexion than their personal character, and the clan system, which still exercises its influence in Irish public and social life, placed the claims of the family above those of the community and so led to jobbery and inefficiency.

All these reasons make it imperative for us to look around us carefully, and to formulate for the Free State a local government policy which shall be based on present realities, future possibilities, and modern experience. The present government has so far, in spite of some tentative and courageous experiments, to which I shall presently refer, made no attempt to decide or indicate what it is seeking to do in this department of national life; it has followed a perhaps natural policy of "solvuntur ambulando," preferring to deal with difficulties as they arise rather than to lay down a settled policy. The time has now arrived for a more serious consideration of the problem.

Broadly speaking, the three sources from which all modern systems of local government spring are France, England and Germany. The French system, whose most marked characteristic is the complete central control over all local authorities, prevails in France, Belgium, Holland,

Italy, the Scandinavian countries, and to some extent in Spain. The English system, which grants the fullest autonomy to the whole community functioning through representative elected, and largely independent, councils, is to be found in Great Britain and Ireland, in all the British Dominions, and to some extent in the United States of America. The German system, which limits the powers of local authorities and vests their execution in elected semi-permanent paid officials, is almost confined to the Germanic peoples and to the countries like Czecho-Slovakia where they formerly held sway. Switzerland, where local self-government in every sense of the term is probably more complete than in any other country, has a local government system which may be said to be most akin to that of England, although in no sense derived from it. The English and the Swiss systems are certainly the least centralised.

In most European countries general control over local authorities and councils is exercised by a local permanent government official such as the French prefect. This control operates to a different extent in different countries, but it is not to be found in England or Switzerland. The French prefect can and does suspend a communal council, and the head of the State may, on the prefect's recommendation, dissolve it. Such dissolutions are not infrequent. It is only within the last few months that the English government has taken powers to dissolve recalcitrant local bodies, and this step, which is contrary to all former practice, was only taken after severe provocation. Also, most European countries have a further system of control through the jurisdiction of special administrative courts which are quite unknown under the English system, where the legality of the proceedings of a local authority can be judged by the ordinary courts alone. These administrative courts fulfil a double function, protecting, on the one hand, the individual as against the local authorities, and the local

authorities as against the unwarranted interference of the central government. In the United States, apart from financial restrictions, local authorities are almost entirely free from external control. This, coupled with a large mixed foreign population and rapid development, has been largely responsible for the numerous scandals and the excessive corruption of American local politics in the past.

The position of the official in local government is becoming increasingly important in modern developments. It is obvious that, whilst large popular assemblies can and do legislate with reasonable success, they cannot efficiently execute or administer. This truth is fully recognised and acted on in the national affairs of every civilised country, and is embodied in our own Constitution—which provides that, whilst the enactment of both legislation and taxation is the function of Parliament, its initiation and administration is the function of the Executive Council and its advisers, one minister being responsible for the administration of each division of national government. A similar principle is now being applied in many countries to the business of local government. Mr. Montague Harris in his admirable and exhaustive comparative study of "Local Government in Many Lands," prepared for the use of the English Commission on Local Government, discusses and describes most of these recent developments, and I am indebted to his book for much information on the subject.

In Holland power has been given the municipal authorities in towns with a population of at least 40,000 to delegate certain matters to special members of the official staff, and municipal councils generally are permitted to transfer certain of their powers to the college of burgomaster and aldermen, which is practically an expert executive committee for all purposes. In both Belgium and Holland a paid mayor is appointed by the Crown for six years and presides over the town council.

In Italy the Mussolini Government, with characteristic contempt for traditional democracy, has abolished the elected mayors and councils in all the smaller municipalities and substituted for them Podestas or Governors, who are appointed by the Government direct and hold office for five years. This arrangement applies to over two-thirds of the existing communes. The first act of the new Portugese government was to abolish the old corrupt town councils and substitute in their place small administrative councils appointed direct by the central government. Portugese politics, both local and national, are of course more than usually corrupt.

Spain taking a lead from the United States has, in its new local government law, passed in 1924, given the larger municipalities power to apply for the introduction of the commission or city manager system. The commission consists of from four to ten councillors directly elected, each of whom is the head of a department. If a city manager is desired, he is appointed by the Council. Both commissioners and city manager are subject to the referendum, initiative and recall—also in accordance with American practice. An interesting and valuable feature of the Spanish system provides that, in addition to the ordinary elected councillors, a municipality may have from 3 to 16 Corporate Representative Councillors elected by chambers of commerce or other vocational councils such as labour and agricultural societies.

In Denmark the Chairman of each County Council is appointed by the Crown, and is in addition County Sheriff. He presides over all county bodies, and can suspend any decision arrived at by the parish communes. Another interesting Danish feature is that the county councils themselves are elected by the parish councils and not by a direct vote. In Norway the County Council is a somewhat similar body, consisting of the chairmen of the district councils in the county. Sweden offers another example of official administration in the case of Stockholm,

now by the way the proud possessor of the most beautiful City Hall in Europe: the Town Council of 100 members appoints a Town Board of nine paid officials elected for six years, each in charge of a special department of administration. These are assisted by nine unpaid members for purposes of consultation.

Germany of course affords one of the best known and oldest forms of professional administration. The German burgomaster has always held a very commanding position, and he was really the forerunner of the American city manager. His usual term of office is twelve years, with a possible re-election for life should his administration be successful. He is a salaried professional official, who directs and superintends the whole business of urban administration, and has been well described as "a microcosm of the entire administrative life and activity of the town." It is in fact the most essential feature of the German system to concentrate power in the hands of elected semi-permanent paid officials. In England on the contrary the conception of a local government official is that of a person employed by and subject to the orders of an elected council. This is largely due to the English detestation of bureaucracy and to the long traditions of free government, which the English people rightly cherish and maintain.

The basic idea in America is different. The principal local officials there are responsible to and elected by the people at large. This unfortunate system has led to numerous abuses, and in seeking to escape it the American cities have evolved the city manager system, which places all executive and administrative power in a city manager elected by a small council and holding office subject to recall or dismissal if not competent and efficient. The city manager is however, in spite of his extensive powers, a servant and not a master. In this he differs from the prefect of France and the burgomaster of Germany, who are masters rather than servants of the

local councils with which they are connected. Indeed they are practically dictators except as regards the voting of money to carry out the municipal policy.

Prior to the treaty of 1921 the Local Government system in the Free State was, as I have already pointed out, very similar to that of England. The only material differences were the absence of parish councils, the financial dependence of the minor authorities on the county councils, and the centrally controlled police force. But this system was of comparatively modern growth and had no historic roots in Irish national life. The Municipal Corporation Act of 1840 marks the beginning of real local government in Ireland. This Act swept away the old corrupt town corporations and transferred the control of municipal affairs in the towns from small self-elected cliques to the general body of the urban inhabitants. Other laws in quick succession extended and improved the machinery of municipal life, and finally in 1898 the historic Local Government Act of that year set up a complete system of local government on English but democratic lines for the whole country. Shortly after it was passed a shrewd French observer, M. Paul Dubois, pointed out that England would find herself compelled to take back from us the full control of local affairs, or to concede what she had for a century refused, full management of our national affairs. The Local Government Act of 1898, although indeed its authors knew it not, was the legislative father of the Irish Free State.

As regards county administration it established four spending authorities: the county council, the boards of guardians, the rural district councils, and the asylum boards. But there was only one rating authority, the county council; and although in practice eighty-five per cent. of the expenditure was incurred by the other three authorities, the county council had no power to veto their expenditure. In urban districts the same situation existed, there being three spending authorities and only

one rating authority. This system encouraged thoughtless extravagance, because most of the spending bodies were not responsible for raising the revenue. It also increased the number of elections, in spite of the fact that experience shows that the greater the number of the elections the less the interest taken in them. The refusal by these local authorities in 1920-21 to recognise the old Local Government Board led to a lack of supervision and control, great increases in the rates, and consequent discontent amongst the ratepayers. To lessen the burden it was decided to amalgamate the unions and to try a central purchasing scheme. These changes, afterwards legalised, were mere expedients in time of national crisis, and were not effective in reducing the rates. In many counties no rates at all were paid. The outbreak of civil war increased the difficulties of administration, and in the counties of Kerry and Leitrim the rates went hopelessly into arrears, the councils ceased to meet, and chaos reigned. It was not possible or indeed desirable to hold elections, and so the Government was forced to appoint Commissioners for these counties to deal with this extraordinary state of affairs. So by accident a new development in our local government system took place.

The first local government measure of the Free State Government was the Local Government (Temporary Provisions) Act of 1923, which was passed to deal with these difficulties. It re-organised the administration of poor relief, with the county as the unit of administration, and established one central County Home and Hospital for poor relief in each county. It also gave the Minister for Local Government power to dissolve, after due inquiry, any local authority which did not properly discharge its duties or proved recalcitrant to lawful orders, and to appoint paid Government Commissioners in its place. This power has been since widely availed of, the two most notable examples being the dissolution of the County Borough Councils of Dublin and Cork. These

cities have been administered by Government Commissioners for some time. Whilst the result has proved conclusively that one or two disinterested persons can competently and quietly manage a city's affairs, it is nevertheless obvious that the complete lack of local control or advice, the resulting centripetal tendencies, and the abolition of all civic ceremony prevent this system from becoming a permanent institution in its present form, unless indeed local government as such is to cease to exist. Under such a régime the government of Irish cities must inevitably become purely the business of the central government, which would be forced to undertake the full financial responsibility for same.

The Act of 1923 was followed by the more important Act of 1925, which abolished the rural district councils and the boards of guardians, delegated the control and management of public health to Boards of Health elected by the County Councils but not under their control, provided for payment of travelling expenses to members of local authorities, continued and extended the powers of dissolving local authorities granted by the Act of 1923, and gave any council that chooses power to delegate its powers to a manager or commissioners. It is to be feared that this last power is never likely to be voluntarily exercised by an Irish public body.

Two other local government Acts of considerable importance must also be mentioned. The first is the Local Authorities (Combined Purchasing) Act of 1925, which makes provision for the purchase of commodities by local authorities from contractors appointed officially with a view to the obtainment of such commodities at the lowest possible price. This Act naturally aroused much criticism in the provinces on the grounds that it would mean the placing of all such contracts in Dublin, but this is not possible unless the Dublin contractors give the best value at the lowest price. The Act seems to be working well, and is in accordance with the best

modern practice elsewhere, notably in America where much has been done on these lines by purchasing boards in the various States. The other Act to which reference must be made is the Local Authorities (Officers and Employees) Act, 1926. This Act has established a Commission charged with the duty of selecting the persons to be appointed to situations in the employment of local authorities and makes other provisions for ensuring the appointment of suitable persons to such situations. Whenever possible such selections are to be made by competitive examination. It also gives the local authorities or the Minister for Local Government powers to suspend any public official who is unsatisfactory or misconducts himself.

In many ways this Act may be said to be the most revolutionary local government measure yet passed in the Free State. It has only just come into operation, and has of course provoked the usual uproar from the various local bodies which it deprives of patronage. Everything will depend on its practical application; but if the Appointments Commission discharges its duties without fear or favour, as may confidently be expected, there can be no doubt that it will remove one of the worst abuses of our present local government system. Of course if it is used as an instrument of political patronage, our last condition will be worse than our first. It is an absolute reversal of English local government practice, but a reversal entirely justifiable and in keeping with our habits and necessities. Whatever may be the virtues of local democratic institutions both here and elsewhere, and in the writer's opinion they have been grossly exaggerated, it should be by this time quite clear that they are incapable of holding the balance even where technical appointments have to be made. Relationship to the Chairman of the Council, or to some other local worthy, is generally of more importance than the most unimpeachable professional qualifications. The

successful candidate must be able not only to climb the family tree but to find his way through a political forest.

The Local Appointments Commission should do a great deal to establish a local government civil service upon a sound and enduring basis. Such a service will ensure competent administration and supervision in the vast area of civic life now comprised in the services of public health, public works and local administration. It will moreover ensure that merit and competency shall receive their proper recognition here at home, and will prevent the exportation of brilliant young men who happen to be without influence. Whilst it is a good thing that such selections should be made by competitive examination, it is to be hoped that the elements of character and experience will also be considered. Examination is far from being the best or only method of selection in professional appointments, and the Act duly recognises this fact.

So amended our local government system emerges from the shock of war. The changes which have been made are due to stress of circumstances rather than to a definite and considered policy. Many of them cannot remain permanent. Are we to go backward or forward ?

Speaking generally one may say that the Free State Government does not seem to have really decided the fundamental question whether its local government policy is to be centripetal or centrifugal. At present it is a somewhat confusing and illogical mixture of both these tendencies. Whilst, as we have seen, it has properly suppressed several inefficient councils and replaced them by commissioners solely responsible to the central government, it has at the same time enlarged the functions of the county councils and increased their membership to such an extent as to make them mere unwieldly " talking shops " quite incapable of discharging their duties expeditiously or efficiently. We do not seem to have learnt the lesson to be derived from recent local

government developments in other countries, namely that efficiency decreases in proportion to the size of the council, and that it is desirable to entrust the executive functions of local government solely to expert officials and make them responsible for the result. In local government there is no safety "in numbers." It is obvious from the experience of other countries that expert official leadership, under ultimate democratic control, is best of all. But the leadership and the control must both be local, and not in a government office a hundred miles away with no knowledge of local conditions or difficulties.

The ideal to be aimed at in the future development of Irish local government may, in my judgment, best be described as an expert bureaucracy under democratic control. This is not only in line with modern experience elsewhere, but is best suited to the temperament and traditions of the Irish people. Democracy in the mass is incapable of either understanding or deciding the complicated problems of local administration. It may decide broad questions of taxation or legislation, not always indeed wisely, but it must delegate their execution. The following skeleton scheme is my contribution to a constructive solution of the problem :—

As regards our cities, the power to levy rates, sanction loans and make bye-laws should be vested in a small City Council (five to eleven members) elected by the city at large and presided over by a Lord Mayor, who should be recognised as the official head of the city for all ceremonial purposes. This office in our Irish cities embodies a great civic and ceremonial tradition which it is highly desirable to preserve. All the executive powers should be vested in a City Manager, who should be responsible for the proper administration of the city. He would of course be appointed by the new Public Appointments Commission.

The problem of the counties is more difficult. I do not think the abolition of the rural district councils was

a wise step. It seems to me that it would have been better to retain them as advisory bodies. At present many small localities are in effect completely unrepresented and their grievances unheard. I therefore suggest that the County Councils should have the same powers as I have indicated for City Councils, and that they should be composed of the Chairmen of the rural and urban district councils. These latter bodies should act in a purely advisory capacity, and the number of their members should be considerably reduced. The entire executive functions of the County should be discharged by a County Commissioner appointed by the Public Appointments Commission. The powers and duties of the Board of Health, which is at present an entirely unnecessary and anomalous body that cannot properly administer purely parochial affairs, should be vested in the County Commissioner with power to delegate any suitable duties in this regard to the rural district and urban councils and to consult them on questions affecting their areas. It might also be well, both in City and County Councils, to give representation to chambers of commerce or other vocational councils of importance as has been done in Spain.

Whatever may be thought of these suggestions, it is, I submit, clear that our present system of local government is out of date and inefficient, and it is high time that we directed our minds to the provision of a practical and efficient alternative based on some clear and vital principle. Such an alternative can only be found after full consideration of experience elsewhere and full realisation of our national characteristics and necessities. It is in the hope of provoking such consideration and realisation that this article has been written, not in a spirit of fault finding but rather in the belief that honest and constructive criticism will be welcomed by those whose duty it is to build up in the Irish Free State a happy and healthy community—"where men live a common life for a noble end."

JOHN J. HORGAN.

SAINT FRANCIS AND IRELAND

BY GREGORY CLEARY, O.F.M., J.U.D.

THE *Anno Santo Francescano*, as the Seventh Centenary of the Death of St. Francis (1226) has come to be designated, has evoked unrivalled manifestations of enthusiasm. Ritual celebrations and academic commemorations are frequent in almost every country—and in Italy almost continuous. The Italian Government and the Royal Family seemed to vie with the Church, on the occasion of the feast of the saint, in doing honour to Italy's greatest son—*il piú santo tra gli italiani e il piú italiano tra i Santi*. After Italy comes Spain—even before St. Francis' beloved France—in rendering homage. Fifty prize themes bearing on St. Francis and the Franciscans, with special reference to Spain, have been proposed for competition, the first of the prizes being given by the Royal Family. Protestant England, too, has not been behind other countries in celebrating the glories of the *Poverello*. By a distinctively Anglican committee four weeks were set aside in London—not to mention other commemorations there and throughout England—to celebrate what is regarded as a paramount event.

In Ireland all the Churches of the Friars Minor availed of the Apostolic indult accorded the Order of holding Midnight Mass on the vigil of the Saint's festival—a papal privilege probably without precedent for the feast of any saint. The event was further signalized by the Friars Minor and the Friars Minor Capuchin conducting two eminently successful pilgrimages to Rome and Assisi. And as the Franciscan Year has been declared to extend to October 4th (Feast of St. Francis), 1927, other celebrations, including a series of lectures by eminent men, are further contemplated.

Meantime this and the following papers, undertaken at the invitation of the Editor, will, it is hoped, prove of

interest. Their object is to call attention, in a summary manner, to such aspects of the history of the Franciscan Order in this country as the records which have come down to us will permit. These records, for what is called the pre-Reformation period, are very scanty; they consist mainly of a series of dates, not always accurate, and of arid facts concerning the foundation of the different houses and other incidents, sometimes fortunately of a personal character. On the other hand, there is available relatively copious information, in the libraries and archives at home and abroad, concerning the activities of the Irish Franciscans of the 17th century.

The date of the coming of the Friars to Ireland cannot be accurately determined. The various historical sources at our disposal differ so widely in assigning the actual year that the event may almost be said to lie anywhere between 1214 and 1232. A tradition is said to have always prevailed in the Province that the Friars established themselves in Ireland in St. Francis' own lifetime. Francesco Gonzaga, General of the Order and subsequently Bishop of Mantua, published in 1587 a work of very considerable historical importance entitled *De Origine Seraphicae Religionis*, which contains evidence to the existence of this tradition. He writes: "This province of Ireland . . . does not derive its origin from any other [province], but has as its founder one of the companions of the seraphic father Francis, who, crossing thither from Compostella, built some monasteries in the island, and at length died there with the greatest reputation for holiness."[1] Antony Daça, O.F.M., a continuator of the Chronicle of Mark of Lisbon, goes a step farther and states that the disciple referred to by Gonzaga arrived here in 1214.[2] "Daça's authority," A. G. Little[3]

[1] Pars. III., p. 845. [2] See Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, I., p. 202.

[3] *Materials for the History of the Franciscan Province of Ireland*, A.D. 1230-1450. Collected and edited by the late Father E. B. Fitzmaurice, O.F.M., and A. G. Little. (Manchester: The University Press, 1920.) To this very scholarly work I am immensely indebted. Without it, for the period which it covers, these papers would not have been possible without long preparation and research.

observes, " was probably Gonzaga, and the date (1214) was an inference from the tradition that St. Francis visited Compostella about 1213 " (*Introduction*, p. xii.). The Provincial, Donogh Mooney, writing in 1617,[1] bears witness to the same tradition, though he himself prefers to rely on " an ancient manuscript which he had the opportunity of consulting," and which gave 1231 as the date of the founding of the Province. " Tradition," he writes, " has it that in 1214, while St. Francis yet lived, certain Franciscans, who had left Compostella while a convent was being built, landed in Ireland." In support of this tradition the *Annals of the Four Masters* may be adduced, which, although they make no express mention of it, state that " a monastery was erected by Maurice Fitzgerald . . . . at Youghal, in the diocese of Cloyne in Munster, for Franciscan Friars," in 1224. The date 1224 is also given in the official books of the Province, compiled towards the end of the fifteenth century, viz., *Statuta ord. min. in Hibernia ; Liber de Kilconnill ; Liber conv. de Athdare.*[2] It is probably a more likely date than 1214. Youghal, we are told by Wadding and others, was traditionally regarded as the first convent built for the Friars—" *constanti traditione et perpetua fratrum assertione primus omnium datus Minoribus.*"[3]

It will be observed that Gonzaga simply testifies to the existence of a tradition that the Friars came to Ireland in the lifetime of the Founder of the Order ; the date 1214 was subsequently read into Gonzaga's statement by Daça, who, in all probability, influenced Mooney. From the evidence which I have adduced it would seem that the interpretation of this tradition—an interpretation current in the Province a century before Gonzaga—favours the year 1224. Youghal is the natural port at which Friars coming from Compostella would land. My friend, Professor Little, apparently convinced

[1] *Tractatus de Provincia Hiberniae*, Ms. 3947, Bibl. Roy., Brussels.
[2] *Vide* Ware in MSS. Add. 4821, f. 101. [3] Wad., Vol. II., p. 250.

that the first Friars arrived from England in 1232—at which date we have the first documentary evidence concerning them—while admitting that the tradition about Youghal "appears to be well founded," states that this may imply "that Richard of Ingworth and his companions sailed from Bristol and landed at Youghal." (*Ibid.*, p. xv.). We know from Eccleston[1] that Richard of Ingworth was sent by John Parenti, the Minister-General (1227-1232) as Provincial to Ireland, but what we do not know is whether he was the *first* Provincial to be thus sent. If 1231 or 1232 be taken as the date of the inauguration of the Irish Province, there seems to be something to be said for Wadding's contention, which is thus faithfully summarized by Prof. Little (*Ibid.*, p. xiii):—

> The other arguments (of Wadding) are that the Friars had before 1231 penetrated to northern countries less accessible than Ireland, which enjoyed close intercourse with Spain, France and Germany; and that for many years before this time the Friars were active in England and would not have allowed so long a time to lapse before coming to Ireland. In conclusion, Wadding attempts to reconcile the divergent statements by suggesting that probably a companion of St. Francis during the saint's lifetime came to Ireland, but after some years, having failed to obtain a house for himself and his followers, either returned or went elsewhere, or died; that then other Friars came "about this time" (1231 or 1232?) and established houses, and that later writers should be understood as referring to this second and permanent mission.

It is therefore not only possible, but highly probable, that Franciscan friars had come to Ireland and established themselves there long before 1231 or 1232. But at whatever of these dates they did come, they must have found political, social and religious conditions not very dissimilar from those with which they had been confronted on the Continent or in England. All over Europe the feudal system was breaking up, and the newly-formed townships, conscious of the power given them by trade and commerce, were in open rebellion against the Barons and the Emperor, and played one against the other.

[1] *De Adventu FF. Min. in Angliam*, ed. A. G. Little, Paris, 1909, pp. 3-4.

The spirit of democratic freedom was everywhere awake. Even the universities were centres of revolution. For a time it seemed as if there were to be a political and social collapse similar to that of the Roman Empire. In England there was a revival of national consciousness which challenged alike the absolutism of the monarchy and the feudal tyranny of the baronage.

Gregorovius has portrayed, with his characteristic forcibleness, the influence wielded by the Friars on the Continent in giving direction to these movements. "The mendicant brothers," he writes, "influenced every stratum of society, . . . they filled the chairs of the universities; they were the greatest teachers of scholastic learning . . . . They sat in the college of Cardinals, and as popes mounted the Sacred Chair. Their voices whispered to the consciences of the citizen in the inmost chambers of his dwelling, and, at the most sumptuous courts, into the ears of the King, whose confessors and counsellors they were. Their accents resounded in the halls of the Lateran and in the stormy parliaments of the republics. They saw and heard everything."[1] Thus, but more especially through the spirituality of their lives, they succeeded in saving society.

With reference to Ireland, a more sober chronicler, Donogh Mooney, O.F.M., already mentioned, informs us: "From the day in which the Order of St. Francis took root in Ireland, it flourished exceedingly, and bore ample fruit through the edifying lives and profitable teaching of its members. It drew towards it the devotion of the people in a greater degree than the other religious Orders. This is evident from the fact that it possessed more convents than any of the others, and was distinguished by a greater number of eminent men. . . . I may add that the principal nobility of the Kingdom were so attracted to the Franciscan Order that it held at all times the first, and, in a certain sense, the only place in their love and

[1] *History of the City of Rome*, Bk. IX., ch. 3.

affection " (*loc. cit.*). So much, indeed, was the Order identified with Ireland that, in the eyes of the people, St. Francis almost became an Irish saint.

When the first Friars arrived, some fifty years after the Anglo-Norman Conquest, they had to face, as already observed, conditions of strife and unrest not unlike those prevailing on the Continent and in England. And yet the root-cause of the political and social upheaval in Ireland was of a totally different nature. On the Continent it was internal forces, however revolutionary, that were operating: native life was vigorous and throbbing. Ancient institutions were being scrapped, but with a view to progressive ideals that were national. In the case of Ireland, however, national aspirations were being crushed, not by Irish kings and chieftains, but by alien invaders.

Donnell-more O'Donnell was at this period Lord of Tyrconnell, Fermanagh, Lower Connaught and part of Oriel; MacLoughlin reigned in Tyrone, which, by the middle of the century, was regained by O'Neill; O'Brien was King of Thomond, and MacCarthy More held a portion of Desmond. Wars raged incessantly between these native princes and the Anglo-Normans, who occupied almost the rest of the country; and not seldom there were petty wars between the Irish chieftains themselves.

The Friars found two nations in the island—differing as much as any two nations could differ—in ideals, customs, speech, laws and dress. They found all the principal cities and towns in possession of the Anglo-Normans, who had planted them with alien citizens. These cities were protected by strong walls and royal charters against the " Irish Enemy," as the natives were designated. The latter were regarded as of inferior caste, with whom it was forbidden to associate or transact business without special permission—to exterminate them was considered meritorious. Such was the condition of the Irish in the occupied territories.

In accordance with the practice prevailing on the Continent—"*Bernardus amat valles, Franciscus urbes*"—our first Friars sought the towns and cities, where the new settlers, rich with the spoils of dispossessed Irish princes, were very willing to receive them and to build them monasteries. In this these Norman princes were but following the spirit of the age, which was a spirit of violent contrasts and contradictions. This reason, as well as the tremendous influence of the English king with the Papacy at this period, accounts for the fact that then, and for several years to come, there was a predominance of Anglo-Irish Friars in the Province, and that the office of Provincial was in the hands of men of English extraction. It is true that some Irish princes, like O'Brien of Thomond, who founded Ennis in 1240, also patronised the Friars; but, generally speaking, it was only at a later date that Irish princes could show themselves munificent benefactors.

Luxury and lust of gain were in Italy, in St. Francis' time, the besetting evil. It was to obviate this and to stem the internecine strife then prevailing that he founded his Order to teach peace and preach penance. So far as the Irish were concerned, his disciples found no such inordinate striving for gain as prevailed on the Continent. There was indeed very considerable trade and commerce between Ireland and European countries in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Ships from Youghal and Galway sailed regularly to Bordeaux; Italian merchants, like the Ricardi of Lucca, thought it worth their while to settle in Ireland; Irish merchants exported not only hides of oxen, deer, lambs and wild animals, but also cattle and horses; to say nothing of Irish fabrics, notably the much prized "sergie de Irlande," which served to trim the garments of the Kings of Naples ("*ad opus regium et dominae Sanchiae reginae*") and of the nobles of Bologna, Genoa, Como, and Florence[1]. All this was

[1] G. Yoer, *Le Commerce*, etc. (1903), p. 92; Schultze, *Geschich. Mittelalter*, p. 702.

a healthy expansion, and devoid of the sordidity to which St. Francis so violently objected.

The Irish Church of "Saints and Scholars" suffered dire degradation under the Danes. But with the expulsion of these in 1014 it became once more a model to be imitated, particularly after the reforms of the great St. Malachy, who died in 1146. A quarter of a century later came Henry II and his followers, armed with the bull of Adrian IV, in virtue of which they seem to have considered themselves entitled to commit any and every excess. In their wake followed numerous most undesirable ecclesiastics. So irregular were the lives of the Anglo-Norman clerics at this period that St. Laurence O'Toole is said to have sent as many as 140 of them to the Pope for absolution for crimes then unknown in the Irish Church.

Again, the Church in Ireland, which for eight hundred years had enjoyed the fullest liberty under native sovereigns, had now become entangled in the toils of English feudalism. Not only did Henry and his successors claim authority over the temporalities of every diocese in the country, even those situate in the territories of unsubjugated Irish princes, but curtailed the liberty of canonical election to episcopal sees to an extent that made such elections almost a nugatory process. Henceforth the Canons could not proceed to supply a vacancy in a diocese without previously obtaining the permission of the King, or *congé d'élire*, as it was called in court language of the time. "It has *ever* been the custom that in vacancies to sees in Ireland licence to elect should be demanded of the King," wrote Henry III., in 1254, in a letter addressed to the Bishop of Killaloe, the Archdeacon of Waterford, and the Provincial of the Friars Minor: here "ever" of course meant ever since the arrival of the Normans in Ireland.[1] When the election thus authorized was effected, the nominee of the Canons had to be presented

[1] C.S.P.I., 1252-84, p. 47.

to His Majesty for approval, who, if satisfied as to the candidate's loyalty, recommended him to the Pope for promotion to the vacant see. And, subsequently, the papal appointment itself had to be submitted to the King for his sanction.[1] The baneful results of this royal interference in a matter of such vital importance to the Church can be easily imagined.

But it would retard us unnecessarily to dwell further on the state of the country at this period. The Friars, soon after their arrival, began to spread with marvellous rapidity. By 1325 they had erected thirty-two monasteries, organised into five Custodies or Wardenships. A Custody was a group of houses governed by a Custos or Warden, under the jurisdiction of the Minister-Provincial, and was a means of promoting stricter organisation. The dates assigned for the foundation of these monasteries cannot be discussed here. Our sources differ in almost every case. The first mention of a foundation in a mediaeval document by no means signifies that it took place only then; it may have been long previously in flourishing existence. Thus the first contemporary evidence we have of the convent at Limerick is in 1279, when a member of the community, Friar Malachy, was postulated as Archbishop of Tuam[2]; whereas, in all likelihood, it was in being since 1241. Again, the term " foundation " is an elastic word. It is sometimes used to signify the first settling of the Friars in a place with only inadequate and temporary dwellings; or it may refer to the grant of a site for a future monastery; or it may be used to mark the date when the new monastery was either begun or completed. Ennis monastery is a case in point. Ware and Archdall attribute its foundation to c. 1240, and the Four Masters to 1247; while, according to the author of the *Wars of Turlough*, it was founded some time in the

[1] See M. V. Ronan, *The Reformation in Dublin*, 1536-1558, pp. xiii.-xiv., London, 1926; MacInerney, *Hist. of the Irish Dominicans*, Vol. I., p. 1, Dublin, 1916.

[2] C.D.F., II., pp. 311-2.

reign of Donogh Cairbreach O'Brien, King of Thomond, who died in 1306 and was interred there.[1] The references are obviously to two different events: to the coming of the Friars to Ennis c. 1240, and to the erection of a monastery for them by Turlough towards the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century.

The form of life followed by the first Friars in Ireland was, of course, in all respects the same as practised by their brethren on the Continent. Their simple, mortified lives, their wide sympathies, and in particular their total renunciation of this world's goods, must have enhanced their preaching after no ordinary fashion, and enabled them to produce fruits of peace and penance similar to those recorded of the Friars of Italy, Spain, France, Germany, and England. From the beginning, as Mooney tells us, the Order drew towards it the devotion of the Irish people, who readily supplied the requirements of the brethren. Their main support was the daily alms, mostly in kind, contributed by the faithful. But each house had also one or more patrons (usually the founders and their descendants) who, besides building the church and the monastery, saw that in cases of grave emergency or of extraordinary expenses the Friars should be wanting in nothing. Benefactors such as these had their family tombs in the Friars' churches, where they were composed to rest, amid the chanting of psalms, in the Franciscan habit. The faithful also occasionally remembered in their wills the necessities of the Friars, as some entries (though not many) at this period warrant us to infer.

They were, further, the recipients of alms from the English kings, beginning with Henry III., a favour which they enjoyed in common with the Dominican and other mendicant orders. A *liberate* of 1230 records the grant of 20 marks towards the restoration of the Friars' house and church in Dublin; and donations of 50 marks and

[1] See Fitzmaurice-Little, *l. c.*, pp. 80-83.

of 10 marks were made in 1236 and in 1237 respectively for the same purpose. The custom of granting royal alms annually was introduced in 1245.[1] These grants were paid, though irregularly, until 1371; after which date they seem to have been discontinued, with one or two exceptions. Needless to say, the royal alms were exclusively intended for houses inhabited by Anglo-Norman Friars, who were as devoted to the English throne as any of their race among the other religious orders in Ireland. For this reason they were not unfrequently employed by the King in matters of State. Thus, by a writ of *Allocate*, 6 December, 1285, Friar Stephen Dexter, O.F.M., was allowed 40s. for travelling expenses "in coming from Ireland to the King in England regarding the affairs of the King,"[2] or, as it is expressed elsewhere, "for his expenses in coming from Ireland to expound affairs to the King in England."[3] In 1317 two Friars of Drogheda, Simon le Mercer, O.F.M., and Ade le Blound, O.F.M., also went to England, at the royal behest, on business of the State. Similar instances occur in 1327 and 1335.

How far, if at all, the Anglo-Norman Friars exercised at this period their ministry among the Irish does not transpire. But their spiritual influence among their own was, no doubt, equal to that exerted by their *confrères* in England, of whose piety and zeal Friar Thomas of Eccleston, O.F.M., supplies us, in his Chronicle, with a most edifying account.[4] Of the saintly lives of Friar Nicholas of Waterford and Friar John of Waterford, who were of Anglo-Norman origin, we have evidence in a document entitled *Catalogus Sanctorum Fratrum Minorum*,[5] written about 1335, wherein we are informed that Friar John predicted to his brethren the day of his death; and that Friar Nicholas was famous for miracles, the sick being cured and the dead restored to life when brought to his tomb. Wadding, treating of Youghal monastery,

[1] *Pat. Roll.*, Hen. III., m.9. [2] C.D.I., III., p. 81. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 105.
[4] *De Adventu FF. Minorum in Angliam.* Ed. Little, Paris, 1909.
[5] Ed. Lemmens, 1903.

chronicles under the year 1230 that among other holy religious men there interred was one "Frater Sanctus," buried at the right side of the high altar, who was famous for the many miracles he wrought, and whose sacred relics were translated elsewhere at the time of the suppression.[1]

We are equally in the dark concerning the specific activities of the Irish Friars who ministered among their fellow-Irishmen at houses situated in the territories of the native chiefs. But there is, happily, preserved an extract of a sermon delivered in 1250 by Friar Thomas O'Quin, O.F.M., preaching in Connacht during a deadly plague which, among other effects, seems to have caused visual disturbances in the stricken. Those afflicted by it imagined they saw armies of devils passing to and fro, and sometimes fighting among themselves, and those who saw them are said to have succumbed to the disease and died. Friar Thomas took the situation in hand in the following manner :—

You have now a great, great pestilence among you [he said], and it is brought about by the devils whom many of you often see in these parts. Do you know why the devils have power of inflicting these injuries on you? Certainly, I tell you, it is for your lack of faith. You are too afraid of their power, and you do not believe or think or trust that God will defend and guard you so that they cannot hurt you. And therefore God permits that they have this power of doing you harm. If you had firm faith and believed firmly that they can do nothing but what God allows, and would amend your lives, praying the Lord earnestly to defend you from their snares, you may be certain that they would have no power against you. You know and see that we—we friars—do more against them and say worse things about them than anybody else in the world. I am standing here and saying all these bad things about them, and preaching, and I tell them to come on and do whatever they can to me. Let the devils come if they dare! Let them all come! Why do they not come? What are they doing? Where are they? I fling this insulting challenge at them in the ears of the whole people.

It is an English friar, then labouring in Ireland, who

[1] Annales, II., p. 251. See Fitzmaurice-Little, *l. c.*, pp. 12, 13.

has transmitted to us this incident, stating that he had it from Friar Thomas's own lips when the latter was a bishop. The result of the sermon, he adds, was that "from that hour the devils vanished, and have never appeared there again; and the pestilence ceased." [1] Concerning Friar Thomas himself, the same writer observes: "He was a man good and faithful and very well lettered, and he was promoted to the see of Clonmacnois [1252], after he had spent many years in rendering sedulous service to God in poverty and humility and in orthodox and edifying preaching." Another distinguished and saintly Irish friar was Thomas Hibernicus, who died in 1270 at Aquila, in Southern Italy. He is regarded by Wadding as the author of the *Promptuarium Morale*, edited by the Annalist in 1624. Of him Bartholomew of Pisa testifies that he "shone by miracles in his lifetime and after his death."[2]

It was recognised in the Order from the beginning that, if the Brethren's preaching were to be fruitful and effective, houses of study must be erected wherein future preachers and teachers could perfect themselves in sacred science. St. Francis himself—whose attitude towards learning is often grossly misrepresented—appointed St. Antony of Padua (the "ark of the Testament," as Gregory IX. styled him) to teach theology to the Brethren. From the earliest times constitutions were enacted to promote study. Private lectures were permitted in places where there was no *Studium Generale*. In convents situated in university towns only fully qualified lectors might profess, and their lectures were delivered publicly.[3] There being no university in Ireland, the studies of the Friars were conducted in the private schools of the Order. At the same time there is evidence that the Province availed itself of the universities abroad, in conformity with

[1] *Liber Exemplorum*, ed. Little, Aberdeen, 1908, pp. 85-86.

[2] *Lib. Conform.* pp. 290, 530.

[3] Bull of Alexander IV. (1257); Bull of Clement IV. (1265) ap. Sbaralea, *Bull. Franc.* II., p. 208; III., p. 19. [3] Erhle, *Arch.*, V., p. 109; VI., p. 54.

the ordination of the General Chapter of 1260, which provided that two students from each of the thirty-two Provinces into which the Order was then divided should be maintained free of charge at Paris.[1] Thus in 1303 we find two Irish friars at Paris, viz., "Odo de Ymbernia" and "Dyonisius de Ymbernia." Friar John of Ireland, who as Provincial attended the General Chapter at Assisi in 1279, is referred to as Master in S. Theology. He was one of three theologians of the Order to whom on that occasion certain difficult points were submitted for solution. And, according to Prof. Little, he "was one of the principal ministers who collaborated in drawing up the famous bull *Exiit qui seminat.* According to the same authority he appears to be an S.T.D. of Paris.[2] But as we propose to deal with the scholastic activities of the Friars, during this and subsequent periods, in our next article, it is unnecessary further to pursue this subject.

The high esteem for piety and learning in which the early Friars were held, not only by the Irish people but also by the clergy, is unequivocally manifested in the desire of the Cathedral Clergy to elect them bishops. During the first century of the Order in Ireland some twenty Friars were elected or nominated to Irish sees. Eight of these elections or nominations, for one reason or other, did not take effect: we shall not tarry to enter into the matter. What we wish to emphasise is that Ireland is unique in supplying the first example, in any country, of a Friar Minor being proposed at a Capitular election. There were previous cases of nominations by the Pope of Friars Minor to bishoprics, but the Chapter of the diocese of Elphin, in 1244, affords the first instance on record of their election by the Canons of a cathedral church. The choice of the Elphin Chapter in this case, it is interesting to note, was Friar Thomas O'Quin, already

[1] Erhle, *Arch.*, V., p. 109; VI., p. 54.
[2] *L. c.*, pp. xxi.; 45–46.

referred to. His election, however, was not confirmed; though he was subsequently elected and consecrated bishop of Clonmacnois (1252).

The example of Elphin was followed by fourteen other Cathedral Chapters at this period: Cloyne (1247), Clonmacnois (1252), Tuam (1256), Ross (1254), Ross (1269), Ross (1275), Tuam (1279), Clonmacnois (1280), Clonmacnois (1290), Clonmacnois (1303), Armagh (1303), Annaghdown (1306), Derry (1319), Clonfert (1320). The Friars thus elected were nearly all Irishmen; while the papal nominees at the same period, owing no doubt to the influence of the English king, were of Anglo-Irish extraction or, like Friar Richard Ladred, the noted Bishop of Ossory (1317-60), purely English. But more of this and of analogous questions in our next instalment, in which the racial antipathies and animosities which rent the Irish Church and the Franciscan Order will be reviewed, and the story told of the gradual increase and eventual dominance of the Irish element in the Province.

GREGORY CLEARY, O.F.M.

DR. COULTON'S "MEDIEVAL VILLAGE"[1]

BY HERBERT THURSTON, S.J.

"MY real task," writes Dr. Coulton, after discussing some of the 14th century revolts against serfdom, "is to help the reader to judge how far these later medieval germs of social and economic emancipation were due to the efforts of the Church and especially of the monasteries."[2] His conclusions are formulated a few pages further on in a passage which it will again be best to reproduce in his own words.

> I judge the monk to have been, on the whole, a slightly better landlord than the layman. His conservatism inclined him to the harder side, since his whole economic position was fundamentally capitalistic; but his religion and his traditions of social amenity, which even at the worst kept him on a higher moral plane than the average lay lord, weighed rather more heavily in the milder scale. In the same rough and tentative way in which I reckon the modern and medieval labourers' lives to differ by about 10 per cent., I should reckon the monastic landlord to have been 4 or 5 per cent. better than his brother the layman.[3]

And thereupon our author goes on to cite with approval the statement of Henri Sée that "the Church landlords were essentially attached to the manorial system and exploited their peasants no less harshly than the laity."

If Dr. Coulton had always expressed himself with the sobriety and sense of proportion which seem to underlie the above quoted and sundry other pronouncements in his volume, there would be little in the book which need rouse the antagonism of any of his Catholic readers. One would not always agree with his conclusions, but he is a scholar of wide reading and great industry, and he has a right to form his own honest opinion after a study

[1] *The Medieval Village.* By G. G. Coulton, M.A. (Cambridge University Press. 1925. pp. xxx., 604. 25*s.* net). [2] P. 139. [3] P. 142.

of the available evidence. Moreover there are many indications—almost pathetic indications as it seems to me—of the efforts made, at least spasmodically, by Dr. Coulton to keep his anti-Catholic bias in check and to do justice to the other side. He admits in the course of a short chapter which is headed "Kindly Concessions" that "though the monk's and the churchman's general policy was naturally guided mainly by the principles natural to a capitalist, we can see some real tendency to personal benevolence."[1] If he urges that "the totality of the secular clergy, or of the monastic community, constantly refused [especially in the matter of the heriot, the mortuary, merchet, the ban-mill and the ban-oven] those humanitarian concessions which many pious individuals among them would gladly have granted," he adds that "we can distinctly trace a certain patriarchal side to this conservatism."[2] In the matter of clearing forests and draining swamps he allows that "the monks were very valuable and active middlemen. They were instructed and intelligent enough to see what princes had done and were doing; active enough to set the peasantry to work and sometimes even to set them an example."[3] He does not deny that "all through the Middle Ages the civilizing influence of the clergy was great, their worst faults were the faults of their time; even when the Reformation came, the clergy as a whole were decidedly above the intellectual and moral average of the laity as a whole."[4] Moreover he concedes that "the great and well-ordered abbeys were centres of charity to the country round."[5] These admissions are noteworthy; but they epitomise nearly all that Dr. Coulton finds to say to the credit of the monks in the course of his long book.

[1] P. 181. [2] P. 145. [3] P. 222. [4] P. 303.

[5] P. 357. Dr. Coulton also takes occasion to testify with regard to the rustic in general: "That the life of the medieval village had a true dignity at its best, and even a true glory in the highest sense of that word, no man can doubt who reads Chaucer's brief description of the Ploughman."—*Ibid.* p. 391.

On the other hand, the present writer, for one, has no difficulty in admitting that there has been considerable exaggeration in the picture drawn by some Catholic apologists of the social conditions which obtained in the later Middle Ages. I do not believe that there has been quite so general a disposition to paint the status of the medieval rustic in glowing colours as Dr. Coulton seems to assume, nor do I allow that the abolition of serfdom, as distinct from slavery, has been so uniformly attributed by Catholic historians to the influence of the Church and the monastic Orders as the reader of this book would be led to suppose. But there has undoubtedly been a tendency to ignore the darker shadows of medieval life, and one may willingly admit that the volume before us renders a real service to the cause of historic truth by pointing out how little definite evidence has yet been brought forward for the contention that the monks in any way took the lead in emancipating the serfs or conspicuously set a good example in lightening their burdens. The unfortunate part is that the reader who is acquainted with the bias shown in some of Dr. Coulton's previous work cannot easily feel satisfied with the trustworthiness of his interpretations. An immense number of books are cited,[1] many of them not easily met with, and any consistent attempt to verify even the more important quotations would be a gigantic undertaking. I am not accusing him of deliberate garbling or misinterpretation. In many cases a comparison of his statement with the passage cited and its context shows that he has dealt fairly with the author to whom he appeals. But on other occasions, writing it may be in an irritable mood, or under the influence of a desire to justify himself at all

[1] Without accusing Dr. Coulton of special negligence, his references are not always accurate. He asserts that Bishop William of Auvergne "writes of *servilia opera* as unworthy of self-respecting men"; and gives as a reference "*Opera*, Rouen, 1674, I, 354, i.g." There is undoubtedly an edition of William's works dated 1674, but it was printed at Orleans and not at Rouen, and the folio indicated says nothing whatever about servile work.

costs, he seems to be possessed by some demon of perversity, and his procedure becomes every bit as biassed and *unscholarly*—I stress the word—as that of any of the Catholic apologists at whom he is so continually girding.

Let us take, for example, a passage in which Dr. Coulton speaks of St. Jeanne d'Arc.[1] He turns to her for an illustration of "the normal religious education of a peasant girl of the better sort, in the more civilised parts of Europe, during the later Middle Ages." Using the smaller type employed for quotations and professing to give a reference to the official process (ed. Champion), Dr. Coulton sets the matter before his readers thus :—

> She said, "I learned my Pater and Ave and Creed from my mother; nor did I learn my belief from any other than from my mother . . . . I learned to sew linen and to spin : I fear no woman in Rouen for spinning or sewing . . . . I confessed once a year to my own parson; and, when he was hindered, to another priest by his leave. Sometimes also, twice or thrice, I believe, I confessed to the friars at Neufchâteau; and I used to take the Sacrament of Eucharist on Easter Day." Asked whether she took the Eucharist on other days beside Easter, she told the interrogator to pass on.

To this Dr. Coulton adds nearly a page of the same small type, embodying Jeanne's answers about the Fairies' tree, in order that his readers may be properly impressed by the superstitious back-ground of her early religious training. He also notes that "she did not know her own age"[2] and after this proceeds to draw inferences as to "the occasional nature of official Church influence," telling us that she went to Confession and Communion normally only once a year, and did not hear Mass except on Sundays and Holydays.

Dr. Coulton professes to cite the text of the Process, but he surely has not consulted the Latin originals edited by Quicherat. In a writer less censorious and con-

[1] Pp. 262-263.

[2] Even this statement shows bias. Our only record says : "Interrogata cujus aetatis ipsa erat, respondit quod, prout sibi videtur, est quasi XIX. annorum." Quicherat, I, 46. There is no reason to doubt the correctness of Jeanne's estimate and that she was consequently born in 1412.

temptuous of all Catholic scholarship this would hardly call for comment, but it has resulted in this case in one of those "interested mis-statements" which our author is so fond of denouncing in the historians with whom he disagrees.

What are the facts? Jeanne's enemies were primarily bent on proving that she was a witch, and it would have meant much to them to be able to show that she was unsound in her belief and negligent or superstitiously extravagant in the practice of her religion. Jeanne was quite shrewd enough to see the bearing of their questions, and she was plainly on her guard to give them no handle for entangling her in theological subtleties. The only record of the trial which we possess is the official minute made by the greffiers, which in the matter before us takes this form.

Interrogata utrum quolibet anno confitebatur peccata, respondet quod sic et curato proprio; et quando curatus erat impeditus, confitebatur uni alteri sacerdoti, de licentia ipsius curati. Aliquotiens etiam, bis aut ter, prout credit, confessa fuit religiosis mendicantibus, et hoc erat apud dictam villam de Novo Castro,[1] et recipiebat sacramentum Eucharistiae in festo Paschae. Interrogata utrum aliis festis quam in Pascha reciperet ipsum Eucharistiae Sacramentum, dixit interroganti quod ipse transiret ultra.[2]

In other words she was asked whether she fulfilled her Easter duties in the way in which the law of the Church required, and she said yes. When questioned about other Communions, she gave her judges to understand that that was a matter between herself and God and was no concern of theirs. But on the strength of this passage Dr. Coulton tells his readers categorically that normally Jeanne went to Confession and Communion *only* once a year; and he has not taken the trouble to acquaint himself with the abundant evidence in the Procès de Réhabilitation which proves the direct contrary. Witness

[1] We know that Jeanne only spent a fortnight at most at Neufchâteau, but she went to confession then two or three times.

[2] Quicherat, I, p. 51.

after witness who had lived with her at Domrémy attest that she frequently went to Confession—mostly to her parish priest, whose name is given.[1] Of her Communions in childhood they do not speak so freely. She was probably not allowed by her confessor to communicate often, or else was bidden to go when she would not attract attention, for at that date even monthly Communions in a child would have been a marked singularity. During her mission we know that she communicated at least weekly and went to Confession every two or three days. All her life she seems to have heard Mass daily, and what Dr. Coulton says about her being present at Mass only on Sundays and festivals is pure assumption without a shadow of evidence to support it. As for the statements made about "the fairies' tree," it is plain to anyone who reads the Process that it was the questions of her judges, anxious to press a point which seemed to connect their victim with anything that smacked of witchcraft, which gave the subject so much prominence. Jeanne for her

[1] The evidence for Jeanne's life at Domrémy may conveniently be consulted in Ayroles, *La Vraie Jeanne L'Arc*, II, pp. 507-526. Père Ayroles, in reprinting the record from the MSS., points out that Quicherat in several places has transcribed his texts rather carelessly. More particularly he has omitted a clause in the testimony of Jean Morel (Ayroles, II., 505) who declared that Jeanne on account of her constant visits to the church was sometimes ridiculed by the other children—"ab aliis juvenculis aliquociens deridebatur," a statement confirmed by several other witnesses (Ibid, pp. 522, 523, 524, 525). Jean Colin de Greu, who was a boy of her own age, deposed in particular "quod, propter ejus devotionem, aliquando ipse testis, qui tunc erat juvenis, et alii juvenes de ea deridebant." They speak of her kneeling down when she heard the church bell ring, and Jean Morel asserts that "quando ipsa audiebat pulsare missam, et esset in campis, veniebat ad villam ad audiendam missam" (p. 508). Similarly Perrin Drapier, who when Jeanne was a girl served as a sort of parish-clerk (*matricularius*) in the church of Domrémy, deposed that "sæpe videbat dictam Johannam venire in ecclesiam in missis et completoriis; et dum ipse testis non pulsabat completorias, ipsa Johanna eundem testem causabat et vituperabat, dicendo quod non erat bene factum, et ipsa Johanna tunc promiserat eidem testi dare lanas, ad finem ut diligentiam haberet pulsandi completorias." (p. 517). While one quite recognises that evidence given thirty years after the event is not always very satisfactory, still these details are just the little things one does remember about the companions of one's youth and boyhood. I should find it hard to believe that this story of Perrin's neglecting to ring the bell for compline, and Jeanne's reproaching him for it and promising to knit him something if he would be more careful, was simply an invention.

part declared in the plainest terms that she did not believe the stories which were told about the tree and that she disliked the whole thing, because she thought it connected with sorcery—"sorcellerie" being her word for what we should now call superstition.[1]

Just as Dr. Coulton drags in all this matter about fairies and witches with a very imperfect indication of the energy with which Jeanne repudiated all sympathy with such practices, so when he quotes Cardinal Hugh de Saint-Cher's evidently rhetorical expostulation that the clergy and religious use their bondmen worse than the barons do, he tacks on to this a passage about the sins crying to heaven for vengeance which has no connection whatever with what precedes. The reader will inevitably infer that the Cardinal is still discussing the misdoings of the regular clergy, but he is commenting now upon an entirely new verse of the Psalm (lxxvii, 59) "audivit Deus et sprevit," and he turns to a new line of thought, viz.: "the four sins crying to heaven for vengeance" which will be found enumerated to this day in every penny catechism.

Not less strained and, as I hold, not less unfounded is Dr. Coulton's reiterated assertion that medieval churchmen held the peasant in contempt and regarded his life of toil and hardship with little sympathy. He says, for example, "in all medieval literature the peasant is very seldom noticed, and even then the notice is almost universally scornful,"[2] and again "medieval writers are generally scornful of the peasant, at best, they scarcely

[1] Even here Dr. Coulton seems unable to interpret a plain text in its obvious sense. The minute of the greffiers is preserved both in Latin and in French. The Latin runs: "et bene audivit loqui, et quod ibant in die Jovis; sed in hoc non credit, et credit quod hoc non sit nisi sortilegium." The French says: "mais a bien ouy parler et que on y aloit le jeudi; mais n'y croist point, et croist que ce soit sorcérie" (Quicherat, I, 187). Both which clearly mean that Jeanne did not believe the story of the ride of the fairies on Thursdays, and what is more, thought it all so much witchcraft. Dr. Coulton translates: "I have indeed heard that there was a ride on Thursdays, but I believe not in that which is witchcraft," adding an alternative in a foot-note: "or possibly 'I believe not that there is any witchcraft in that.'" This last is the exact contrary of Jeanne's plain meaning. [2] Coulton, p. 237.

go further than to tolerate him as a necessary domestic beast."[1] Furthermore he protests against the verdict of Léopold Delisle, declaring that " Delisle, who is usually so trustworthy, certainly generalises hastily when he asserts that ' medieval writers, on almost all occasions, have never failed to speak of the labourers, with the most touching sympathy and the keenest solicitude.' "[2] I must confess that in this matter the late distinguished director of the Bibliothèque Nationale seems to me likely to speak both with wider knowledge and with sounder judgment than his often cantankerous critic. I have quoted recently in another article the saying of the famous Peter Cantor that " if you wanted to hear Christ you should go to ecclesiastics of good learning, but if you wanted to find Christ you should go to peasants of good life."[3] but I propose to appeal here to one of the most popular of medieval tractates, the *Elucidarium*, usually printed among the works of Honorius of Autun. The little book takes the form of a sort of catechism, but it is a catechism in which the pupil asks questions and the master answers them. For example the pupil asks :—

> What do you think of Knights (*milites*), ? *Magister*—Few of them are good, for they live on plunder and clothe themselves with what they loot. By such means they acquire property and purchase their holdings (*beneficia redimunt*).

In answer to similar questions the master declares that merchants also have little hope or salvation, because they for the most part live by fraud ; neither have artisans, because they scamp their work ; while the " joculatores " (*jongleurs*) have none at all, because they are thorough-going agents of the devil. After which the pupil asks :—

> What hast thou to say of husbandmen, ? *Magister*—For the

[1] P. 234. [2] P. 238.

[3] See the *Dublin Review*, July, 1926, p. 35.

most part they are saved, because they live in simplicity and they feed the people of God by the sweat of their brow ; as it is written, " Blessed are they who eat the labour of their hands " (Ps. 127, 2).[1]

Let me repeat that this was an extremely popular little book, translated into almost every European language, including Welsh and Scandinavian, and perpetuated in many early printed editions as well as in numbers of manuscripts. The authorship has never been ascertained with certainty ; but the writer was clearly an ecclesiastic, and he lived in the twelfth century.[2] I should be loath to say of Dr. Coulton, what he (p. 547) does not hesitate to say of the Catholic historian Janssen, that he " intentionally " ignores testimony which he finds inconvenient, but it is not too much to suggest that Dr. Coulton would do wisely to credit a scholar like M. Delisle with having possibly more evidence before him than he may think it worth while to quote. Take for example, such a passage as the following from the second series of Old English Homilies published by the Early English Text Society. The churchman who wrote it can hardly be accused of taking sides with the rich against the poor husbandman. I copy the rendering into modern English provided by the editor, Dr. R. Morris :

> So in this world do the rich who are lords destroy the poor men who are underlings, and moreover live on them and obtain from their labour hounds and hawks and horses and weapons and spotted and grey fur and dainty meats and drinks, and all that they possess they have from their common labours.
>
> The underlings think daily how they may labour most and expend their flesh and blood in hard toil, with feet and with hands, and with all their servile limbs ; and yet with difficulty they obtain their lord's rights and they themselves eat the worst that they can get from the earth, and yet will not their lord be pleased with his just portion, but by treachery and by violence will rob his underling of that by which he should live.[3]

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[1] Migne, P. L., Vol. 172, p. 1149.

[2] See the supplement to Hauck-Herzog, *Realencyclopädie*, I, 660.

[3] *Old English Homilies* (Ed. R. Morris) Second Series, p. 178. There is an assonance, evidently intentional, between *Loverdinges* (lords) and *Underlinges*.

Such a passage as this, written by an English priest in the twelfth or thirteenth century, ever so long before the social movement of Wyclif's time, entirely bears out the verdict of M. Delisle, who is not likely to have seen this text, and directly conflicts with Dr. Coulton's thesis of the scorn of the Church for the peasantry. Moreover many of the documents to which the latter writer appeals in favour of his own view are strangely unconvincing when they are examined in the setting of their context. Two pages of small type in the book before us, representing something like a thousand words,[1] are taken up with a long quotation from the Franciscan, Alvarus Pelagius, denouncing the moral lapses of the peasantry, arranged under twenty-two headings. This might seem a very serious indictment to an inquirer who has not realised what kind of a book he is dealing with. But when one examines Alvarus's text, one discovers that, after describing the sins of country-folk, he turns his attention to the sins of women in general and finds them guilty on no less than 102 numbered and specified counts, besides remarking that they share all the vices of the men as well. To reproduce a long passage from such an author as serious evidence of the contempt in which the peasantry were held is a procedure little short of childish. Dr. Coulton is simply throwing dust in the eyes of his readers.

It is this tendency to exaggeration, uncontrolled by the many restraining influences operative in our own days, which makes it almost impossible to draw any safe inference from the denunciations of medieval preachers and ascetics. In modern times the fear of scandal or at least of the loss of prestige in a community constituted of many competing religious sects, exercises a strong check upon violence of language. So again the publicity lent by the press to any extravagant utterance, the operation of the law of libel, the spread of education which renders

[1] Pp. 243-245. Alvarus Pelagius' book is called *De Planctu Ecclesiae.*

it easy for aggrieved persons to seek redress by letter, our whole postal system and facilities for locomotion, all have the effect of making even cranks and impassioned reformers careful as to what they say and write. The conception that genuine moral indignation is compatible with sobriety of statement seems to me a relatively modern discovery, the product of a more refined cultural development. To the very greatest and holiest of medieval preachers from St. Peter Damian down to St. Bernardine of Siena moderation of language seemed to smack of tepidity ("accedia") and want of zeal. Dr. Coulton, no doubt, says from time to time that we must make allowances for the rhetorical exaggerations of the preacher and the satirist, but it seems to me, in point of fact, that he himself makes very insufficient allowance. Moreover in this and other matters he is continually judging the Middle Ages by the standards of thought and feeling prevalent in our own day. Serfdom unquestionably was a very deplorable thing, but to the vast majority of the sufferers themselves, as well as to their lords and masters, it seemed as inevitable a part of the divine economy of the world as bad seasons, the prevalence of epidemics or the unequal distribution of wealth. Dr. Coulton apparently holds that the ecclesiastics of the medieval Church ought to have spent their best energies in proclaiming the glories of Liberty, and Labour, and Hygiene, and Education, and because he fails to find them rhapsodising over these themes, he declares the Church to have failed in her mission and to have wasted her golden opportunities. There are in every age some few far-seeing people who take broader views than their fellows, but each period, in sober fact, may rightly claim to be judged by the standards of its contemporaries and not by those of our own day.

For the scholastics and for the medival preacher the supreme appeal lay to the teaching of our Lord, and that of the Apostles and the Fathers of the Church.

Where do we find servitude, even the cruel slavery of the pagan Roman empire, condemned in the New Testament? I know of no early Christian writer who lays down that a man born in slavery and not outrageously ill-used was justified in obtaining his freedom by running away from his master.[1] Dr. Coulton seems to me to say no more than the truth when he tells us: "It was a medieval tenet that class-divisions were of God's making; even the best churchmen were far less often concerned with actually raising the poor than with preaching content in poverty." This static view of human relations probably did discourage any conscious effort to reorganise the world, but at the same time a vast indirect influence tending to improve social conditions was exercised by the Church at large and by numberless individual religious who maintained the true spirit of their profession. It was such as these—the Benedicts, the Odos, the Brunos, the Bernards, the Peter Nolascos, the Norberts, the Dominics, the Francis Bernadones and the hosts of their worthy imitators—who maintained high ideals of self-sacrifice, of Christian benevolence, and of compassion for the infirm, the aged and the destitute. No one who studies the early records of the Orders of Hospitallers or those for the Redemption of Captives, no one who knows anything of the lazar-houses, the hospitals and the almshouses scattered through the length and breadth of the land can seriously pretend that the middle ages were hard-hearted and indifferent to human suffering. What has the English Protestantism of the 17th and 18th century to show in the way of public or private charity which can be put in comparison with that of pre-Reformation times? But these are subjects upon which Dr. Coulton prudently does not touch. His book amounts in substance to an indictment of the Church because she made no organised protest against serfdom, and the

[1] See for example the Epistle to Philemon. Onesimus was a slave, but St. Paul does not ask Philemon to emancipate him.

reader who peruses it uncritically cannot fail to carry away the impression that the medieval clergy as a body and in particular the monks, were not only grasping in regard of their own dues, but unfeeling and indifferent to the sufferings of the labouring poor.

Now this conclusion I hold to be altogether unwarranted by any evidence which is here adduced or otherwise available. As already stated, Dr. Coulton is probably justified in his contention that the great monasteries, and ecclesiastical organisations generally, contributed little to the abolition of serfdom as distinct from slavery. This, however, would not seem to have been the result of any hardheartedness or of any exceptional greed, but mainly of two factors, both of which had their importance. The first is the principle that an abbot had no right to manumit the serfs of the monastery, because they did not belong to him but to the community of the brethren.[1] Such a release of the services they rendered, apart from adequate compensation, would amount to a *dilapidatio*, or wasting, of the property which he administered. Dr. Coulton recognises the operative force of this teaching even while protesting against it. But a still more important element in the case seems to me to be the fact that, when the earnest spirit of self-sacrifice which presided at the foundation of the great religious Orders had somewhat evaporated, human nature was prone to content itself with discharging those duties which were of strict obligation and resented the imposition of any further burdens.

It is not as if the monasteries did little or nothing for the relief of distress. Dr. Coulton will not himself dispute that they gave away a great deal. No one, for example, can read the relevant passages in the Customaries of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, or St. Peter's, Westminster, without being impressed by the fact that twice a week a

[1] Cf. the Decretum Gratiani, I, Dist. 54, cap. 22. See Coulton pp. 147-148, 167 seq.

distribution took place in which no needy person who presented himself was suffered to go away unrelieved. "Hoc proviso solerter quod nullus unquam egenus, quod absit, elemosinae expers inde recedat."[1] That this was no dead letter even at the beginning of the 16th century is abundantly proved by the language of such a man as Brinkelow, a former friar, who describes the Mass as "an abhominable idoll, of all idolles the most greatest," and who calls the Roman Church "the whore of Babylon." Nevertheless Brinkelow (c. 1545) not only attests that the monks "took no such cruel fynes as do our temporal tyrantes," but he appeals to the common knowledge of all contemporaries in proof of the substantial character of the relief formerly administered.

> And as tochyng the almesse that thei dealt and the hospitalyte that thei kept, every man knoweth that many thowsandes were well relevyd of them (*i.e.*, the monks), and myght have been better, if thei had not had so many great mennes horses to fede and had not been overcharged with such idle gentylmen as were never out of the abbeys. . . . . But now, where XX pownd were given yearly to the poore in moo than an C places in England, is not one meale's meat given.[2]

Similarly another scurrilous Reformer, Thomas Becon, tells us that "where the cloisters kept hospitality, let out their farms at a reasonable price, nourished schools, brought up youth in good letters, they [the rich worldings who have acquired the monastery lands] do none of all these things . . . . The state of England was never so miserable as at this present."[3] And Thomas Nashe, the friend of Marlowe and Greene, declares a little later: "I have heard travellers of credit avouch that in London is not given the tenth part of that alms in a week which in the poorest besieged city of France is given in a

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[1] *Customary* (ed. Sir Ed. Maunde Thompson for the Henry Bradshaw Society) II, pp. 178-179 and I, pp. 220-221, etc.

[2] *The Complaint of Roderick Mors* (E.E.T.S.), pp. 33-34.

[3] T. Becon, *The Jewel of Joy* (Parker Society), p. 435. This treatise was written about 1550.

day. What is our religion? All avarice and no good works."[1]

The fact is that we must judge the monks, not by the standards and conceptions of our own day, but by those which prevailed in the Middle Ages, unreasonable and inconsistent as many of their ideas may seem. Moreover it must be remembered that one religious house may continue faithful to the highest standards of virtue, while its neighbour has grown degenerate and a scandal to the world. Unfortunately it was the latter which set the tongues of all men wagging, though as a rule no one thought it worth while to chronicle the observance of the former.

For the rarity of its occurrence let me note an exception. One of the medieval writers whom Dr. Coulton more than once cites with approval is that sincerely devout churchman, Cardinal James de Vitry. Now it would not be easy to speak more appreciatively than de Vitry does of the work of tending the sick in hospitals. He says that no form of penance can be compared with "this holy martyrdom, so precious in the sight of God," and he commends in enthusiastic terms the zeal and charity of those who founded the religious Orders dedicated to such works of mercy. On the other hand he tells us with equal vehemence that in a great many places and houses (*in pluribus locis et domibus*) the spirit of charity has utterly decayed. Avarice has stept in, the collection of alms has become a money-getting business in which the meanest tricks are resorted to, not in the interest of the sick and suffering, but of those who profess to relieve them. At the same time he is not less emphatic in bearing witness that a certain number of these foundations have retained the true spirit of fervour and self-sacrifice. He mentions among the exceptions the Hospital of the Holy Ghost in Rome, and others in Paris and else-

[1] Nashe, *Christ's Tears*, Ed. 1613, p. 172; *Christ's Tears* was first printed in 1593.

where. For these he cannot find words forcible enough to express his admiration.[1]

Not less instructive, in the light it throws upon that queer medieval mentality which is so far removed from the conceptions of our own age, is a story told by the same writer of the pious Count Henry of Champagne, surnamed "the Generous."

He was [says de Vitry] very open-handed and made a practice of never rejecting any appeal. So when some poor Knights asked him for a *beneficium* [probably a grant of land] a certain rich steward of his wishing to excuse his master, said to them: "Why do you beg of my master, seeing that just now he has nothing to give you? You know that he has given away every disposable thing that he has." But the Count in great indignation burst out: "You miserable clod-hopper (*pessime rustice*). You say that I have nothing to give! Do I not own you, since you are my serf?" And then he turned to the Knights: "This rich yokel here has dared to say in my own hearing that I have nothing I can give you, although he is my own serf. I make you a present of him. Take him, and keep him in irons until he makes over to you everything he has in the world." Where-upon these poor nobles, their needs being thus provided for, returned thanks to God and to the Count.[2]

Now if on the one hand this tale seems to show a brutal contempt for the rustic as a mere chattel, it also sets the serf before us as a man who might, with his master's favour, not only grow rich but occupy a position of authority. At the same time the serf of the private owner was the plaything of his lord's caprice, while the monastic villein enjoyed a relative security. In any case, such a story, told without a hint of reprobation by a compassionate man like de Vitry, may help us to realise what a wide gulf separated the social and moral outlook of the Middle Ages from the standards which prevail in our own times. HERBERT THURSTON.

[1] "Sunt hospitalia pietatis et domus honestatis, officinae sanctitatis, conventus decoris et religionis, refugia pauperum, asylum miserorum, consolationes lugentium, refectio esurientium, suavitas et mitigatio infirmorum." J. de Vitry, *Historia Occidentalis*, Douai, 1597, pp. 337-341. Cardinal de Vitry died in 1241.

[2] Jacobus de Vitriaco, *Exempla in Sermonibus Communibus*, Ed. J. Greven, 1914), No. 17.

HERMANN BAHR: HIS PERSONALITY AND HIS WORKS

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Part II[1]

THE Hermann Bahr who was summoned from Paris in May 1890 by Arno Holz to help the Young German Movement and to be co-editor with Holz of *Die Freie Bühne*, seemed to the stormy young littérateurs of the German capital to have all the qualities necessary for leadership. He was fresh from a year's apprenticeship in Paris; was the author of three dramas, *Die grosse Sünde*, *Die neuen Menschen* and *Die Mutter*, none of which would be tolerated by the public; and had just published a novel, erotic of course, *Die gute Schule*, which was described by Otto Brahm, the critic, as a "Grünen Heinrich fin de siècle," and a volume of short stories which had been seized by the police. But he had in reality, thanks to his Paris experience and to the more imperious call of his genius, left the naturalistic phase already far behind him, and his Berlin activity, which is brief because again of this same urgent call of his Austrian self, consists mainly in guiding his young followers to leave naturalism behind also. His volume of essays *Zur Uberwindung des Naturalismus* appeared in 1891, and he was a constant contributor to the *Freie Bühne* under such pseudonyms as Globetrotter, Schnitzel, Schwind, Linz. Bahr is one of a brilliant crowd of contributors to this now famous periodical. There were Brandes, Tolstoi, Theodore Fontane, Liliencron, Knut Hamsun and many others; outside the circle of *Die Freie Bühne* there was Maximilian Harden.

[1] For Part I see March issue.

But, notwithstanding all these attractions, the Austrian Bahr could not feel at home in the new Berlin, which had, in a very short space of time and as a consequence of the altered position of Prussia after the Franco-Prussian War, become a great industrial capital, with all the vicious developments inseparable from a city of that type. The old Berlin of Mendelssohn and Lessing, of Hofmann and the Romantics had vanished. This was a new Germany whose feet were moving to a different measure, whose heart was beating to a different tune. Her old hero Bismarck had been relegated to his native Sachsenwald—he moved too slowly for that commercial age. Even externally everything seemed to Bahr different: everything had become to his eyes "tip top." He found himself alone in his mourning for the old Berlin of Schinkel and Queen Louisa. The new Germany wanted to have its advantage from the establishment of the Empire, wanted to see its profits, in cash, on the table. And, in spite of the fact that here he first tasted the sweets of fame and literary power, Bahr felt the life meaningless; he felt the necessity for escape and went, seizing the first opportunity that offered, with the actor Reicher, to St. Petersburg. Some weeks spent in Vienna and in Linz on the return journey from Russia decided him. He now definitely belongs to his home-land, seeing Vienna with quite other eyes than those of the revolutionary student of the 80's, eyes that Spain had opened to the glories of Barock. In old Vienna, in the Vienna of the great Habsburgs who had reared those buildings the stones of which sang to Mozart, Bahr found an echo of the haunting memories of his Salzburg youth—in it he saw the homeland of his heart take living form and shape. Young Austria too had begun to find its voice; and the boy Hofmannsthal, then writing under the pseudonyms Loris and Theophil Morren, was one of the links in the chain that forged Bahr to his own land. Hofmannsthal became for him

a vision of the Austria that he had forgotten—" a ghost of the Austrian past, a promise of a better future."

In Vienna then we find Bahr settled definitely in 1892, one of the leaders of the Young Vienna movement, contributing to its organ *Moderne Dichtung* and editing a periodical of his own *Die Zeit*, acting as theatre-critic and feuilleton writer for the *Deutsche Zeitung*, and directing the artistic and literary life of Vienna for close on twenty years. He claims it as the merit of this young school and his own that they showed the world that there was such a thing as Austrian Art—not a hole-and-corner appendix or annex to German Art, but existing by its own right, seeking its own ends, minded to rule its own house, racy of the soil, independent. To create and foster such an art is the aim of the new school. Bahr did a man's work in that, if one considers only the series of plays beginning with *Tschaperl* in 1897, continuing through *Der Athlet* (1899), *Der Franzl* (1900), and *Der Krampus* (1902), to *Der Meister* (1904), *Das Prinzip* (1912), *Das Phantom* (1913), and *Der Unmensch* (1920).

Diligent students of Shaw, Wilde, Ibsen, Strindberg may note analogies and parallels between Bahr and one or other of these in many of the plays of the Vienna period. Candida's voice speaks out of Violet's mouth in *Der Meister*, situations in *Das Phantom* recall *How he lied to her Husband*, *Tschaperl* has echoes of Strindberg, Lida Lind in *Die Andere* reminds one of Ellida in Ibsen's *Die Frau vom Meere*. But that does not detract from the quick and sure character-drawing of ever-recurring Austrian types, the bleating and futile Hofrat (Bahr's pet aversion), the brilliant self-made, peasant-proud doctor (a favourite Bahr figure, who is to recur later in the novel *Die Rotte Korahs*), the careless, gay officer-squire of dames who does not waste much time weeping for the monarchy, but finds his consolations where he has always found them.

This is not indeed a moral world, rather a cultural

one—such a culture as is at once too old and too new, a culture cut off from its real root. Nor does Bahr claim any high rank for any of these plays. To only three of them does he attach any permanent value: *Der Franzl* (1900), five acts from the life of a good man, what we would call a "record" of the Upper Austrian poet Franz Stelzhamer and the first important indication of "regionalism" à la Barrès; *Sanna* (1904, staged by Reinhardt), a grim five-act tragedy of life and death in a "hofrätlichen Familie" in a small town in Austria in 1847, a masterpiece of power in the conjuring up of atmosphere; *Die Stimme* (1916), "dedicated in gratitude to Pater Heribert Holzapfel, O.F.M.," a remarkable play, closely related to Bahr's personal experience of conversion and grace, and described by the author as a close neighbour to his novel *Himmelfahrt*, which is generally interpreted as the story of his conversion. One fine character, Domherr Zingerl, is common to both works. Bahr bitterly remarks that the play was hissed out of existence in Darmstadt and Vienna. A modern audience found nothing moving in this story of a man brought back to his faith by his dead wife, whose voice ("Die Stimme") warns him of a train disaster and saves him from death.

Bahr's writings as dramatic critic in Vienna fill four bulky volumes—*Wiener Theater* (1892-1898), *Premièren* (1900-1901), *Rezensionen* (1901-1903), *Glossen* (1903-1906). They offer interesting material for the study of German and Austrian drama in those years of rapid change and development and for the reactions on it of the English, Scandinavian, French and Italian stage. His activities were by no means confined to literature, though he proclaimed and promoted the poetic genius of Hugo von Hofmannsthal, introduced Maeterlinck and Romain Rolland to Austria, influenced and was influenced by Schnitzler. We find him the enthusiastic friend, admirer and promoter of the great Austrian artists—the architects

Olbrich and Otto Wagner, the painter Klimt, the composers Bruckner, Mahler and Hugo Wolf. Some of Bahr's best prose and most sympathetic writing is to be found in his 1914 essays on Mahler, published in the *Bilderbuch* of 1921, the 1913 essay on Klimt in the same volume, the Otto Wagner essay in 1912 in *Essays*, the essay on Olbrich in *Sezession* (1900). No one has, I think, to a greater extent than he the gift of penetrating the genius of his fellows and of evoking that genius for his readers. And the interpretation and the evocation become then, under his hands, a work of art. Wide horizons are opened up, depths of feeling are plumbed, clear, eternal lights let in, depths of gloom penetrated, and all in that wonderfully flexible, soft, delicate, caressing Austrian-German so rich in its play of light and shade that there are few literary pleasures to surpass the reading of such prose. His sensitive spirit seems to be equally at home with all artists in these causeries; but musicians are, I think, the elect of his soul. All these artists—painters, architects, musicians and poets—were the men who were, for Bahr, to build up a new Austria: they were Young Austria, he with them striving to arrive at a synthesis of all the arts, with roots deep down in national tradition and national culture, and reaching beyond the national to embrace all humanity.

I think the post-war Bahr would tell us that the synthesis remains, like the vision of Austria, a dream of the future, at best a hope. Austria went down in a welter of blood in 1918, but I think I remember hearing this son of hers say somewhere that 1918 was but her death—she had been buried long before! So that the dream and the vision had faded even before they were wiped out in blood and tears. Faded at least as far as Vienna was concerned. Indeed, we can follow the process of disillusionment for some years previous to 1912 when he definitely left Vienna to settle in Salzburg. In an

autobiographical sketch, written sometime between 1910-1912, he says: "Few understand me. It is my idea that the Austrian should, expressing himself through his own native tradition, share in the culture of Europe. But here those who feel themselves Austrian are afraid of Europe, and those who are minded to be European deny Austria. In my dream of a new Austria, everybody is against me: it is a dream that will be fulfilled one day perhaps by our proletariat."

But what the Viennese apparently did not forgive was his book *Wien* written in 1907, the *Buch der Jugend* in 1908, and probably also the volume of essays entitled *Austriaca* in 1911. Those who had admired and proclaimed the Bahr whose comedies, tales and novels reflected all the gaiety, all the charm, all the light-o'-love which was Vienna were indignant when that same Bahr was minded to look deeper and to seek in Vienna for those foundations upon which his Austria of the future was to be built. The contempt and the anger which followed upon his failure to find such firm ground in the city of the "Hofräte" underly his book *Wien*, which yet ends upon a note of hope. "Austria has no soul, Lagarde said fifty three years ago. We want to give her one. Then perhaps the Viennese will awaken from his dream, open the secret drawer and bring forth from it his real self, the real Viennese. He will cease to merely seem; he will begin to live, as once in the days of the Babenbergs."

His consciousness of the weakness and want of public spirit of the various civic, social and political bodies and personages is the mood out of which sprang the essays and the character sketches, models of clear, concise and vigorous prose, which comprise the volume *Austriaca*. One can imagine that a bitter attack on Lueger, the idol of the Viennese populace, a character sketch of Archduke Franz Ferdinand (later the unfortunate victim of Sarajevo) as one disdaining popular favour and holding

to the Church, a scathing attack on Austrian bureaucracy and Austrian policy in Hungary and Bohemia were not calculated to make Bahr popular with many sections of his Viennese public. From such a generation he turned aside in despair, and the *Buch der Jugend* is dedicated to a two-year old child, with the idea that the very young alone are capable of being moulded to match the vision of a new Austria. In something the same spirit Barrès dedicated his early works to the young, feeling that in them alone he has links with the present and hope and vision for the future. The dedication of the *Buch der Jugend* strikes a note of hope that power will one day pass from the foolish old hands that hold it now and that youth will come to reign; a note of faith that the Austrian is strong enough in all departments to enter the lists with any other nation and to endure; a note of confidence that when the young generation grows up, "our great, strong, wonderful Austria, now existing only in our longing hearts and in our inner consciousness, will really appear." "Believe in Austria," he says; "for Austria is in you. You have only to be what you are, to adhere to yourself, to perfect your own individual being," and the future will realize itself. This Austria of the future, to be realized by each of her children in the present, is the dream of his great novels *Himmelfahrt* and *Die Rotte Korahs*, and practically the same words that are found in the dedication of the *Buch der Jugend* recur again and again in the later works; but the fundamental principles underlying the words are solidified, are sanctified by the certainty that has come to their author after the religious crisis of 1913-1914.

Bahr in 1900 had already practically abandoned Viennese light comedy. *Die Andere* in 1906, with its mixed flavour of Barrès, Wilde and Whitman, *Ringelspiel* in 1907, that reminds us of Schnitzler, and *Das Konzert*, so world famous in its Reinhardt production, may be regarded as reversions to that type internationalized.

In the series of plays already alluded to, beginning with *Franzl* and continuing through *Sanna*, *Die Kinder*, *Der Athlet*, he had already entered upon what we might call his "regional" phase—those plays all having for background the Austrian provinces and for characters definite provincial types which recur again and again in epic and drama with Bahr down to the present day. He is now in 1912 himself to turn his back upon Vienna; he is to cast off for ever his moods of spiritual, political and artistic anarchy, and, after a few more years of defiance and resistance, to enter upon his definitely Catholic phase. The most important indications and expressions of this reaction are *Inventur*, which appeared in 1912, and *Expressionismus*, written in 1914.

The fascination of *Inventur* is that it shows us a man of genius and of character, a man with the gift to express that genius and that character, engaged in the search for his soul. The motto of the first essay "Inventur der Zeit" is "Veni, Creator Spiritus"—not yet perhaps used in a religious sense, but a cry of distress, a cry for help in an age that is nearing shipwreck. Bahr passes in review the generation that has just finished; he takes an inventory, as it were, and finds that it spells moral and cultural bankruptcy. "No age has had so much talent and so little character"; it was an age of aesthetic but not of moral gifts, and its only answer to a moral experience was an aesthetic answer." He passes in review all the various phases of art and literature—decadence, symbolism, neo-romanticism, neo-classicism—and he finds that they have resulted in nothing except a highly developed technique, a talent for form. "We have suddenly arrived at the stage when the Germans can say everything, but no one of them has anything to say." Content has disappeared; empty form alone remains. But outside of literature he finds hope for the future: in the natural sciences which, through the loving study of the wonders of nature, lead back to God; in an awakening religious impulse in the working classes.

The essay entitled "Der Betrieb" is still more remarkable; it is a reckoning up of the sinfulness and soullessness and futility of the great city, from which all thinking men fly, in spirit if not in body. "What is soul?" asks Bahr, seeing an inscription on a cross outside a country church. "Who has a soul? Who now has time to have a soul? Is it even allowed by the philosophers?" This remarkable book Bahr himself mentions as one of the fingerposts pointing the way to the road which he was definitely to follow in 1914. The other is *Expressionismus*, published in 1914 and recently translated into English. Roughly the contents of a lecture delivered in Danzig, it is one of the most stimulating books that Bahr has written, though critics shrug their shoulders at it because it does not wrap up wisdom in the technical jargon of the schools, but is an attempt to lift the veil that covers the mystery of creative sight and the creative act. Expressionism is for Bahr a cry of rage and despair emitted by men in search of something real. He sees the age (mirrored in Expressionism) as seeking a religion, the age which he had analysed in *Inventur* as possessing nothing but form. Now it realizes that form cannot help as long as there is no matter—"only those may paint who have a matter." He sees Goethe as an Expressionist, and he quotes him as saying: "Painting shows what man would like to see and what he should see, not what he usually sees." In this phrase Bahr finds the programme of the Expressionists.

Bahr, the Catholic, settled in Salzburg, the barock "city of his soul," the German Rome. Here, in this city of his forefathers (his father's mother was a Salzburgian), where his father and mother lie, and where he hopes one day to lie too—hopes, for he has no fear of death[1]—here he continued, from 1912 to 1921 (when

[1] "I love death. Not as release; for I do not suffer in life. No, but as fulfilment. It will bring me all I lack. Then and not till then will my life's seed fructify. Death can take from me nothing and can give me so much. I know that now; and, whenever I think of death, I think of it with a fearful joy, such as filled me when we, as children, waited for the coming of the Christ-Child; we sat in the darkness, but through a chink in the door stole a ray of warm light."

he went to live in Munich), that literary activity so rich and varied, the development of which we have watched from 1886.

This last phase of Bahr's literary activity is perhaps the most arresting and fascinating as it is the richest in form and content of all his phases of development. It would be an interesting thesis to attempt a proof that the unity which, according to his German critics, has been lamentably absent in his work down to the present, is not only not absent but that its motifs can, by any one who has ears to hear, be picked out here and there in the overture before 1914, to be developed and enlarged and harmonized to the great swelling theme that it has become in the numerous essays, novels and papers that he has since then published. Of outstanding literary and cultural value and of intense human interest are the two great novels *Himmelfahrt* (1916) and *Die Rotte Korahs* (1919), a continuation of the series planned as a cycle which began in 1908 with *Die Rahl* and was continued in *Drut* (1909) and *O Mensch* (1910). The first two are out of print; the others are still available, and represent from 1910 to 1919 an ascending scale of pure literary as well as human and cultural values. *Himmelfahrt* is said to be "Wahrheit und Dichtung," an echo of the author's reversion to the Church of his fathers, and as such, of great autobiographical interest. But apart from that, the heroic figure of Domherr Zingerl, the wonderfully drawn and finely conceived Blasl, the introspective, self-analysing Franz, and the typical provincial Austrian squire Anton have a right to a place among the plastic forms of epic art. This novel, upon the close of which the world war breaks with a crash, and *Die Rotte Korahs*, with the world war and the imminent ruin of Austria for a background, but in the foreground an Austrian man and woman "finding home" through self-renunciation and self-subordination, are, in Bahr's own words, part of an attempt to spell through the alphabet of his

soul. The cycle is not yet complete; the Tagebücher of 1921-1923 hold out a prospect of such completion. But, even if the cycle should not go the full circle, we possess enough in these two to show us that we have in them a synthesis of the old and the new Bahr—the affirming artist, the traditional Austrian and the believing Christian.

Beside the two novels, every year of this period from 1914 brings Tagebücher, plays, essays of various kinds, the most attractive and the most remarkable of which appear in the volumes *Summula* (1921) and *Sendung des Künstlers* (1923). In a striking set of essays in the former volume and in the remarkable papers on Dostojewski and Pascal Bahr analyses the "Weltanschauung," the soul and the mind that found expression in Barock. And, taking Barock as an art term, the expression of an attitude of mind, he looks forward to a second Barock period, "not North South, German Latin, as the seventeenth century Barock was, but West East, uniting Rome and Byzantium with room for Whitman and Dostojewski." He imagines the Austrians as the stimulators and perhaps creators of that great synthesis. He sees Goethe, not as the plaster pagan god that German critics for fifty years after his death made him out to be ("developed out of Pseudo-Greek through Pseudo-Gothic, out of Pseudo-Renaissance to Pseudo-Modern"), but as one who, even as early as the period of his Italian journey, realized the force and the significance of Barock. This same Barock Goethe Bahr finds again in *Pandora* and the second part of *Faust*.

Barock indeed haunts Bahr all through this last phase. It drew him to Salzburg; in his little book under that title he attempts an analysis of it; he pursues it through the writings of all those who appeal to him—from Goethe to Whitman and Dostojewski; he hears it in the clash and beauty and passion of Wagner; through it he becomes reconciled to the half-animal, half-god that is himself; and out of it he will create that syn-

thesis of art, life and religion which is his dream and vision of the future. For Bahr has come to his Catholicism by way of Kant and Goethe, of German Romanticism and Music, and his notion of a work of art assumes the same genesis for it, but going back beyond Kant and forward beyond Romance and Wagner into the Future, the Hidden, the Unknown. His is the Catholicism which maintains that art is ever Catholic in the highest sense, namely including all humanity, and that the art of the future should be "so human in the power of its faith as to move an artless child, so beautiful in its living form as to enchant the unbeliever, and with such bell-like notes echoing our past as to compel all Germany to chime in in chorus with it." Bahr is no Pascal, no Savonarola, no Puritan; the smoke of his sacrifice ascending to heaven does not go up from the funeral pyre of a culture which he has renounced. Renunciation and self-denial are words which he will not admit into his vocabulary of art and literature: affirmation and reconciliation express his activity. He is himself what he affirms of his favourite poets and thinkers, a "Barock Mensch." In his *Kritik der Gegenwart* (1921) he says:— "The new spirit does not shut out the old, but absorbs it. Christianity adopts the antique world; Barock adopts the Renaissance. The Renaissance is the handmaid of Barock, subjugated by it and serving it as rhythm, play of colour, contrast. The new spirit triumphant never wipes out the old subjugated spirit; it assimilates it as form, thus rendering it harmless."

We hear the same Catholic Bahr replying to a critic who reproaches him for writing a play like *Der Unmensch* after he had been boasting of his conversion. He quotes from a letter of Wagner to Liszt: "How significant it is that almost all the great Spanish poets retired into religion in the second half of their lives. But how unique it is that, from such retirement, after having completely overcome the world, these same poets could

then delineate life with a sureness, a purity, a warmth, and a clarity such as they had never shown when they were in the world." Bahr calls that Barock liberty, and the play impulse, which in art is the exercise of that liberty, becomes for him, under the eye of Him who watches our earthly sport, a duty and a profession. In characteristic mood and style he recognizes various grades of vision or knowledge of life: life an end, life a sacrifice, life a dream, life a joke, life a game, life a service of God; he maintains, against the Pascals and the Puritans and the Protestants, that he who jests with life is not so very far from the truth, is indeed much nearer to it than he who takes life literally, and he reminds us that St. Francis of Assisi, the beloved of all true artists, called his little band of followers "Joculatores Domini."

Such is and has been Bahr's Catholicism since 1914—affirming life, affirming art, affirming and embracing what he would call "die ganze fragwürdige Menschheit," and reaching out beyond this ever-changing, ever-restless, ever-growing Here to the serene, unchanging and unending Hereafter. It is, moreover, a Catholicism clear, open and avowed; jubilant and triumphant; at once the simple faith of the child sure of a guiding hand and the firm, spiritual conviction of the man. One of the most interesting chapters in the *Selbstbildnis*, which Bahr wrote in 1923—a work obviously inspired by Goethe's *Wahrheit und Dichtung* and intended to give a faithful record of his development as he saw it in retrospect across a vista of almost sixty years—is the last chapter in which he deals with his conversion. The opening passage of that closing chapter, which has for motto

"Jeder Weg zum rechten Zwecke
Ist auch recht in jeder Strecke,"

reads like a prose *Hound of Heaven*. Attaching his train of thought to Goethe's lines he says:—

> These lines of Goethe I have always found confirmed in myself. I seem to myself like Saul, the son of Kis, who went out to seek

his father's asses and found a kingdom. For years I went in quest of asses and found no rest until I could no longer avoid the kingdom which I had not sought. The true child of my age, I gave ear to every error; but whatsoever illusions I pursued, truth was still swifter than I; it caught up on me again. In vain I did everything to frighten away my guardian angel; he did not cease his pursuit. For years neither of us yielded. Every day we measured our strength, one against the other. However far I tried to go from my real self, he continued to bring me ever nearer. What I did of myself was always wrong; but what was done with me always right. My own deeds were meaningless; it is the happenings of my life that give it its great inner meaning. In my heart I was always aware of this sure guidance, but my defiant temper made an ill use of it. Grace was not merely bestowed on me; it was forced upon me, and I sinned against it, in my mocking curiosity always testing how much it would stand at my hands. Before the awful spectacle of God's patience, I was at last brought to my knees.

This is a poet's preface to the story of the final intellectual crisis that he had to face and solve. Austrian Liberalism had made a bugbear of Catholicism as it was, and Bahr had been of that tradition. With his friend, Max Burkhardt, he had in 1904 discussed the possibility of a Catholicism of their own, "without clergy"—and without authority; but there was no solution along those lines. And then from, of all sources, the pen of Nietzsche came the words that were the last light on his life's problem: "Autonom und sittlich schliessen sich aus," which, as applied to himself and his own crisis, he paraphrased: "A Church which finds only one of many variants of a lost original can offer me no certainty, and my own ego has uncertainties enough."

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DECLINING LIBERTY IN AMERICA

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Part II—Economic and Political Liberty[1]

ECONOMIC liberty is partly included under civil liberty. This phase of liberty consists mainly of the right to engage in an occupation, to make contracts, and to acquire property. From the beginning of our history as a nation, the constitutions of the various states protected this sphere of liberty for members of the Caucasian race. Down to the Emancipation Act in 1863 the great majority of Negroes enjoyed no such protection, inasmuch as they occupied the status of chattel slaves. After the Civil War the Fourteenth Amendment was added to the Constitution for the specific purpose of guaranteeing this form of liberty to the recently emancipated black men. In consequence of the judicial construction of the "due process" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, this portion of economic liberty has come to enjoy the protection not only of the state constitutions, but of the Federal Constitution. Unfortunately, this development has also had the effect of lessening that other kind of economic liberty which consists of economic opportunity. Before dealing with this subject, however, we must give a brief review of the manner in which the primary economic liberty has been brought under the protection of the "due process" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Although slavery and involuntary servitude were abolished by the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution in 1865, the freedmen were prevented in several

[1] For Part I, see September issue.

of the Southern states from exercising the ordinary civil and economic liberties enjoyed by white men. They were forbidden to appear in the towns except as menial servants; they were required to reside on and cultivate the soil without the right to purchase and own it; they were excluded from many gainful occupations and were forbidden to make certain contracts.

To remedy this situation, Congress in 1866 passed the Civil Rights Act, which forbade discrimination among the inhabitants of any state on account of race, colour or previous condition of servitude, which provided that all persons should have the right to come and go at pleasure, to engage in any lawful calling, to acquire and dispose of property, to make contracts, to sue in the courts, and in general to do everything permitted to free citizens. Fearing, however, that this law was not authorised by the Constitution, Congress soon after proposed to the states the Fourteenth Amendment. This was ratified by the necessary three-fourths of the states in 1868. In so far as it applied to recently enfranchised slaves, its main provisions took the form of prohibitions applied to the states. Proclaiming that all persons born or naturalised in the United States are citizens, it forbade any state to "abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, or to deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, or to deny to any person the equal protection of the laws."

In drawing up and proposing to the states this Amendment, Congress undoubtedly intended to confer upon the black men all the civil and economic rights which had previously been enjoyed by white men under the various state constitutions. The history of the provision about "life, liberty and property" leaves no doubt, however, that these words were not intended to cover economic liberties. They are also found in the Fifth Amendment, which was adopted with the Constitution. It forbids Congress to do what the states are forbidden

to do in the Fourteenth Amendment. In it the word "liberty" had always been construed as juridical liberty, as liberty of the person, the freedom to move about, freedom from physical restraint—except in accordance with "due process of law." Undoubtedly that was the meaning which it was intended to have by the men who were responsible for the Fourteenth Amendment. They wanted to protect the Negro against the danger of being deprived of his life, his liberty, or his property without a judicial process and a fair trial. The specifically economic freedom of the newly enfranchised persons was taken care of in those clauses of the Amendment which deal with privileges and immunities of citizens and the equal protection of the laws.

1. *The "Due Process" Clause.* Nevertheless, it is not these provisions but the "due process" clause which has been construed by the courts as safeguarding a certain measure of economic liberty. In the Slaughter House cases, decided in 1873, two of the justices of the Supreme Court contended that the liberty to follow an occupation was included in the "liberty" of that provision. In later decisions other members of the Court derived the same economic liberty from the same source. At length this construction received the sanction of the majority of the Supreme Court in the case of *Allgeyer* v. *Louisiana*, decided in 1897.

The declaration of the Court is well worth quoting, not only because it describes fully the various forms of economic liberty which enjoy constitutional protection against the arbitrary acts of legislatures, but also because it shows how greatly the general term "liberty" has been expanded and made specific through judicial construction. In the words of the Court the liberty of the Fourteenth Amendment means: "Not only the right of a citizen to be free from the mere physical restraint of his person as by incarceration, but the term is deemed to embrace the right of the citizen to be free in the enjoyment of all

his faculties, to be free to use them in all lawful ways, to live and work where he will, to earn his livelihood by any lawful calling, to pursue any livelihood or avocation, and for that purpose to enter into all contracts which may be proper, necessary and essential to his carrying out to a successful conclusion the purposes above mentioned."

As already intimated, this construction and development of the "due process" clause went far beyond the interpretation that had been put upon it down to the last quarter of the 19th century. Its traditional meaning had been merely juridical liberty—the right to a hearing in court and a fair trial. It meant the liberty which was guaranteed in the *Habeas Corpus* Act of 1679 in England, and which Blackstone described as the right of every person to the "free enjoyment of life, liberty, and property unless declared to be forbidden by the judgment of his peers or the law of the land." This was the liberty which the makers of the American Constitution had in mind when they drafted the Fifth Amendment, forbidding Congress to deprive any person of "life, liberty or property without due process of law." It was this liberty and this liberty alone which was attributed to this clause by American courts until they began to expand it in construing the Fourteenth Amendment.

Nevertheless, this judicial development, as finally formulated in the paragraph quoted above, has become a very important protection to the natural rights of the individual. The Oregon law which attempted to destroy private and parochial schools was declared unconstitutional under this interpretation of the "due process" clause. The Supreme Court unanimously held that this Oregon statute deprived the Sisters of the Holy Names and the Hill Military Academy of their constitutional liberty to engage in a lawful occupation or calling, namely, that of teaching. The right to carry on this occupation, said the Court, implies the right to make contracts with

parents. In other words, the right of parents to have their children educated in religious or other private schools was concluded by the Court from the right of such persons or corporations to conduct such schools.

Valuable as they are, however, all the economic liberties described in *Allgeyer* v. *Louisianna* are negative. They merely prevent interference by individuals or by the state. They protect that fundamental right which is described in the Declaration of Independence as "the pursuit of happiness." They legally authorise contracts necessary for carrying on a business, contracts for the sale of labour, and contracts for the acquisition of property; but they do not guarantee a decent income or the actual possession of property. In other words, they do not include that positive form of economic liberty which consists of economic opportunity. Adequate economic liberty would provide all who are willing to labour with those social and economic conditions which assure a reasonable livelihood and a reasonable opportunity for economic improvement. To the negative economic liberty described above, positive economic liberty adds actual and effectual opportunity.

Among the social and economic conditions necessary to assure positive economic liberty are labour unions, reasonable assistance by the state, and the legal prevention of various forms of economic oppression. Unless these conditions are protected or provided by law, there is no adequate economic liberty. There is no adequate guarantee of natural rights.

Now this kind of economic liberty not only lacks formal protection in the Constitution, but has, in considerable measure, been construed by the courts as contrary to the Constitution. This has been accomplished through judicial development of the "due process" clause. Among the liberties which the Supreme Court has derived from that provision of the Constitution, the foremost is liberty of contract.

Undoubtedly this is a great good, but it is subject to very considerable limitations. How much liberty should the individual enjoy in making economic contracts? In the Slaughter House cases Justice Bradley asserted that the individual has a constitutional right to "reasonable" freedom of contract, while Justice Swayne declared that freedom of contract should not be restricted except by "just laws." A few years later, Justice Field interpreted the liberty contained in that phrase as the freedom to enter all contracts which do not interfere "with the equal rights of others." What is "reasonable?" What laws are "just?" What is the measure of "equal rights?" From the written opinions of these Justices, we clearly infer that these questions should be answered in terms of the 18th century doctrine of natural rights and the 19th century tenets of Utilitarianism. In other words, these and other members of the Supreme Court held a greatly exaggerated view of freedom of contract. According to their conception, the state should not restrict the liberty of the individual to make contracts unless these engagements called for the exercise of violence or the commission of theft or in some way denied the principle of equal freedom.

This individualistic social philosophy, this excessive freedom of contract, received the sanction of a majority of the Supreme Court in the case of *Lochner* v. *New York*. The legislature of New York State had enacted a law prohibiting the employment of bakers for more than ten hours a day. The law had been sustained by the highest court of New York, but the case was appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States. There it was declared unconstitutional by a vote of five to four. This was in the year 1905. In the decision written by Justice Peckham it was asserted that the state has no right to restrict labour contracts unless this action is "a fair, reasonable and appropriate exercise of the police power of the state." But a law which prevents a baker from

working more than ten hours a day is " an unreasonable, unnecessary and arbitrary interference with his personal liberty and his right to enter contracts." That the average baker does not care to work for more than ten hours a day, or that the " liberty " to do so is an unnecessary and injurious kind of liberty, seems to have escaped the attention of the majority of the Court. To the genuine economic liberty, the economic opportunity, which the ten hour law accorded to bakers, the majority of the Court opposed a doctrinaire kind of liberty which meant economic hardship. Alluding to one of the sources of this mistaken theory of liberty, Justice Holmes declared in his dissenting opinion : " The Fourteenth Amendment does not enact Mr. Herbert Spencer's *Social Statics*."[1]

Several other crucial cases have been decided, always by a small majority of the Court, on the principles laid down in *Lochner* v. *New York*. In every instance, the effect of the decision was to deprive the wage earner of some positive economic liberty, some economic opportunity which the nullified statute had sought to provide. In the name of liberty of contract, the Court empowered the economically strong to oppress the economically weak. In *Coppage* v. *Kansas*, decided in 1915, the Supreme Court pronounced unconstitutional a statute which declared unlawful the action of an employer in compelling employees to refrain from becoming or continuing members of a labour organisation. Justice Pitney, who wrote the decision, declared that this law violated the " due process " clause because it denied to the employer the liberty which was already enjoyed by the employee. Since the latter has " the constitutional right to decline proffered employment unless the employer

[1] " But the opinion of the majority prevailed. Thus the Supreme Court read into the Federal Constitution an interpretation of the liberty of the due process clauses by which the Utilitarians' philosophical idea of liberty was substituted for the specific juristic liberty of the ' Founding Fathers.' *The personal liberty of Blackstone's ' Commentaries ' was transmuted into the freedom of contract of Spencer's ' Principles of Sociology.'* " (*The Modern Commonwealth*, by Holcombe, p. 327).

will agree not to employ any non-union man, the employer should have the same right not to take into his service a person who would not agree to stay out of the union." This is the Utilitarian principle of equal freedom. Justice Pitney did, indeed, take note of the obvious fact that employers and employees do not enjoy the equal bargaining power; that " employees as a rule are not financially able to be as independent in making contracts for the sale of their labour as are employers in making a contract in purchase thereof." In other words, the Justice realised that there is no such thing as equal freedom between employers and wage earners in their mutual contracts. Instead of drawing the practical inference demanded by a realistic conception of justice, namely that wage earners need to combine with one another in order to obtain something like equality of bargaining power with their employer, Justice Pitney had recourse to the following subterfuge: " Wherever the right of private property exists, there must and will be inequality of fortune; and thus it naturally happens that parties negotiating about a contract are not equally unhampered by circumstances." Since the state may not directly, contended the Justice, destroy these inequalities of fortune, neither may it do so indirectly as in the Kansas statute. According to this principle, the state is forbidden by the " due process " clause to enact any measure which increases in any degree the economic opportunity of a needy class, or lessens in any degree existing economic inequalities.

In contrast with this artificial theory of equality, it is refreshing to place an extract from the dissenting opinion of Mr. Justice Day: " I think that the Act now under consideration, and kindred ones, are intended to promote the same liberty of action for the employee as the employer confessedly enjoys. The law should be as zealous to protect the constitutional liberty of the employee as it is to guard that of the employer."

Precisely the same question was involved in the case

of *Hitchman* v. *John Mitchell et al.*, decided in 1916. In this case, an injunction had been granted by a lower Federal court restraining the President and officers of the United Mine Workers from attempting to organise employees who had, as a condition of employment, promised not to join a union so long as they remained on the pay roll of the Hitchman Coal and Coke Company. Appeal was taken to the Supreme Court. By a majority of six to three the Court decided that the injunction was valid, inasmuch as it aimed to prevent injury to the contract rights of the Coal Company in the matter of liberty and property. The effect of this decision was to reaffirm the doctrine of the Coppage Case that an employer has the right to deny an employee membership in a labour union, and further to make guilty of contempt of court any person who induces a wage earner to disregard such a "free" contract between employer and employee.

The climax of judicial encroachment upon positive economic liberty in the name of an abstract legal freedom, was reached in the Minimum Wage case of the District of Columbia in the spring of 1923. A bare majority of the Court decided that the law which Congress had enacted to protect the livelihood of women wage earners was unconstitutional. In the particular case before the Court, the Children's Hospital maintained that the legal minimum wage of $16.50 a week constituted a violation of the "due process" clause. To require the payment of such a wage was an unreasonable abridgement of liberty of contract. In upholding this contention, Justice Sutherland declared that the minimum wage law was invalid because it exacted from the employer "an arbitrary payment for a purpose and upon a basis having no causal connection with his business," namely, "the extraneous circumstance that the employee needs to get a prescribed sum of money to insure her subsistence, health and morality." This legal requirement, said

Justice Sutherland, is an arbitrary and unreasonable interference with freedom of contract. Against this declaration. let us set the pronouncement of Pope Leo XIII, that if the contract does *not* provide a wage equivalent to a decent livelihood, the worker is made "the victim of force and injustice." Justice Sutherland asserts that the livelihood of the worker has nothing to do with the fairness of the wage; Pope Leo maintains that the livelihood of the worker is the essential and determining element of a just labour contract.

Why did Justice Sutherland take the position that a living wage law was an arbitrary and unreasonable interference with freedom of contract and therefore forbidden by the "due process" clause? For the same reason that moved Justice Peckham to condemn a ten-hour day law. Both accept the social and ethical philosophy of Utilitarianism. Both believe that individuals should have the freedom to do everything they like which does not interfere with the equal freedom of others. The employer desires to hire a woman wage earner for less than the equivalent of a decent livelihood; at the same time, he is willing that she should be free to refuse such a contract. Therefore, he is leaving her "equal freedom." With quite as good reason the card shark might claim the right to be free from penal restrictions in the pursuit of his activities and in making contracts incident thereto, since he is entirely willing that his less skilled and less conscientious opponents should have equal freedom to cheat.

Not equal freedom, but the complete equipment of natural rights is the proper determinant of contracts or any other action which involves relations with one's fellows. Therefore, no employer can reasonably claim the right to make a contract which ignores the natural right of the employee to a decent livelihood. A statute which renders such a contract illegal is in accord with justice, no less than with the genuine freedom of the employee.

To sum up the effect of the judicial construction of the "due process" clause: it has given us the very valuable doctrine of negative economic freedom, but it has at the same time seriously diminished positive economic freedom. In this connection, a brief quotation from the dissenting opinion of Justice Holmes in the Minimum Wage case is apposite. Referring to the "due process" clause, he says: "The earlier decisions construing this clause began within our own memory and went no farther than the unpretentious assertion of the liberty to follow the ordinary callings. Later, that innocuous generality was expanded into the dogma, liberty of contract." And the latest act in the expanding process has rendered unconstitutional and for the time being impossible any legislation by Congress or by the states to protect wage earners, even women wage earners, against being constrained to work for less than living wages. Furthermore, it is probably an effective bar to laws providing insurance against sickness and unemployment, and to all new labour legislation for the benefit of adult males.

It is one of the ironies of American history that a constitutional amendment adopted to guarantee the economic liberty of former black slaves has been perverted by judicial construction to the grave injury of the economic liberty of both whites and blacks. And not the least lamentable feature of the process is that it has been carried on in good faith by able men, acting under the influence of erroneous political and ethical doctrines.

2. *Injunctions in Labour Disputes.* In the summer of 1922, I listened to an address delivered by an American professor before a group of British working men at Oxford. At one point, the speaker referred rather casually to the process of injunction as used in the United States. Fearing that his auditors had not obtained a clear notion of this judicial institution, I interrupted, requesting him to describe it in more detail. He courteously complied.

In the question period which followed, the majority of those participating were eager to hear more about the injunction, and were frankly astounded at its nature and its prominence in American industrial disputes. Every one of them asserted that he had never known anything of the kind in Great Britain.

It is less than forty years since the first injunction in a labour case was granted by an American state court, and less than thirty-five years since the first one issued from a federal court. In the subsequent period, they have greatly and steadily increased. To be sure, the writ of injunction is very ancient in the equity courts of Great Britain and of every other country which has adopted the British legal system. Its object is entirely reasonable and praiseworthy; that is, to prevent irreparable injury to persons or property. It is intended to supplement ordinary criminal procedure; and there are labour situations in which it is quite as reasonable and necessary as in any other emergency. The valid criticism of the injunction in labour disputes is that it has been used to prevent good as well as evil actions, to interfere with the legitimate as well as the illegitimate freedom of workers. In a very large proportion of cases, the court injunction has ordered the strikers and others to refrain from peaceful picketing, from primary boycotting, from making known the fact of the strike, from collecting money for its prosecution, from carrying on certain kinds of strikes, and from other actions which are entirely reasonable and are not prohibited by statute. In consequence of the injunction sustained in the Hitchman Case, it has become practically illegal for the mine workers in the greater part of the State of West Virginia to become members of labour organisations. In the railroad shopmen's strike some four years ago, more than three hundred injunctions were issued, most of which deprived the strikers of one or other kind of reasonable freedom. In the absence of statute law governing the activities incident

to a strike, American courts have applied ancient and antiquated principles of the common law to the detriment of the labouring classes. So far has this practice gone, so firmly has it become imbedded in American court practice, so deeply has it become involved in the judicial interpretation of the "due process" clause, that many legal authorities seriously question whether the legislatures any longer have the constitutional power to bring the writ of injunction under reasonable control.

3. *Monopolistic Encroachment.* The existence and legal toleration of monopoly is an obvious injury to economic liberty. Monopoly injures independent business concerns by unfair methods of competition, and lessens the economic welfare of consumers by artificially raising prices. Single combinations controlling entire industries have declined in relative importance. By far the greater part of monopolistic power is now exercised by means of agreements or understandings among concerns which are ostensibly in active competition with one another. Nevertheless, monopolistic control of prices by agreement among separate corporations can be quite as effective and quite as harmful as control by a single great combination. It is most conspicuous and effective when the dominating concern in an industry sets a schedule of prices which is tacitly accepted by all the competitors. Even when there is no outstanding concern, a common policy regarding prices seems to be easily adopted and maintained. So general have these practices become as to justify the assertion that never before in the world's history have the prices of goods in any country been so determined by monopoly action as they are at the present time in the United States of America.

By far the most important and the most disturbing development of monopoly power is occurring in the field of electricity. In the opinion of many authorities, electric power is destined to transform our industrial system. Some go so far as to predict that it will produce an

economic revolution equal in importance to the industrial revolution which was brought about by the great mechanical inventions of the 18th century. All classes of our population will probably become dependent upon it for a great part of the necessaries and comforts of life. According to present indications, however, this great boon, this great industrial instrument, will come under the control of a single and unified group of financial interests. The power of this combination to oppress and extort has not yet been restrained by adequate governmental regulation. Whether mere regulation will suffice to curb this tremendous monopoly so as to enable consumers to obtain electric energy at reasonable prices, is extremely doubtful. At any rate, the power to extort exists. It is thus described by Governor Pinchot of Pennsylvania.

> Nothing like this gigantic monopoly has ever appeared in the history of the world. Nothing has ever been imagined before that even remotely approaches it in the thoroughgoing, intimate, unceasing control it may exercise over the daily life of every human being within the web of its wires. It is immeasurably the greatest industrial fact of our time.—(Message of Transmittal, in Report of the Giant Power Survey Board to the General Assembly).

Political Liberty.

Political liberty has suffered no direct diminution in the United States. The forms and instruments of popular government have remained intact. Indeed, they have undergone some expansion, inasmuch as the electoral franchise has been extended to women and the device of proportional representation has been adopted in several of our cities. Nothing like a dictator is in sight. So far as we can see, our government will continue to be based upon universal suffrage and exercised by popularly elected representatives.

Unfortunately, however, our political liberty has suffered considerably through indirect processes and

influences. Almost all of these may be described in the phrase, financial and industrial aggrandizement. This indirect decline in political liberty is obviously a counterpart of the decline in economic liberty. Ever since the Armistice, America has been in the grasp of political reaction from the rather definite though relatively slight trend toward political progressiveness which had been under way for several years before the War. No intelligent student of our political affairs doubts that the masters of Congress and the occupants of the White House for at least the last five years, have been believers, mostly serious believers, in the theory that laws affecting economic conditions should be so drawn as to be entirely satisfactory to the great business and industrial corporations. If any legislation not of this character got upon the statute books in recent years, it was of relatively small importance. No significant progressive measure, no statute considerably enlarging economic freedom, has been enacted by Congress in this period. The history of our state legislatures is not substantially different.

The social theory upon which our national and state governments have been acting is pretty well stated in the following extract from an address to the Alumni of Amherst College by a distinguished member of that body, President Coolidge: "We justify the greater and greater accumulations of capital because we believe that therefrom flows the support of all science, art, learning and the charities which minister to the necessities of life, all carrying their beneficent effects to the people as a whole." So long as this philosophy is accepted and implied in the legislative, executive, and judicial departments of government, the damage to political liberty will continue to be grave and alarming.

It would probably be an exaggeration to say that the majority of the people consciously accept this theory of beneficient plutocracy. All that we can be certain of at this stage is that a very large proportion of Americans

prefer the political rule of the great business interests to the risk of economic evils that a dislodgement of these plutocratic forces might entail. Possibly the best illustration of this attitude was supplied by the last Presidential election. Thousands upon thousand of farmers, wage earners and other ordinary citizens voted for Mr. Coolidge, not because they preferred his policies, but because they feared the economic and political power of his most prominent supporters. Rightly or wrongly, they assumed that the great financial and industrial interests of the country had the power, and might exercise it, to bring about a business depression in case Mr. Coolidge failed of election. Rather than risk this danger to their livelihood and comforts, thousands upon thousands of persons gave their political support to economic and political theories which they regarded as inimical to the American people. All these persons have lost that inestimable possession, a free mind. They would rather be well-fed than free. They would rather continue to be comfortable economic serfs than make some sacrifices to mitigate or end their serfdom.

Probably the most powerful instrument of the indirect decline in American political liberty is what in recent years we have come to know as "propaganda." During the War, its technique was developed to a state of efficiency undreamed of previously. Since the War, it has been carried to still higher stages of diabolical perfection. No better description of the spirit and effect of propaganda has been given than the following from the pen of John A. Hobson: "It implies a wholesale planting of news or opinion on a contagious mind by a common method, in which there is little or no regard to the personal make-up of the recipient. Propaganda posits the herd-mind, susceptible, receptive, uncritical, and unresisting." (*Problems of a New World*, p. 76).

Obviously, the strength of this terrible weapon varies directly with the amount of pecuniary resources devoted

to its use. In the United States the masters of industry, who are, for the time being, likewise the masters of politics, are able to command unlimited amounts of money, and consequently unlimited quantities of propaganda, particularly through the newspapers. The effectiveness of propaganda thus financed and organised, has been demonstrated over and over again in assaults upon economic and political freedom in the last five or six years. The most conspicuous instance was the recent adoption by Congress of the income and inheritance tax rates advocated by Secretary of the Treasury Mellon. Although these measures were frankly designed to favour the rich, and although their weaknesses had been exposed by substantially every economist who considered them, they received at least the tacit approval of the American people, in consequence of three years of continuous newspaper propaganda. The history of these fiscal measures exemplifies and justifies completely what Mr. Hobson says about the effect of propaganda upon "the herd-mind, susceptible, receptive, uncritical and unresisting."

Conceivably, the process of destroying political liberty by indirection could go on until the substance itself had disappeared. If this stage in our declining liberties is ever reached, the principal instrument will have been propaganda. Its evil potencies were not overstated by Sir James Bryce: "That dissemination by the printed word of untruths and fallacies and incitements to violence, which we have learned to call propaganda, has become a more potent influence among the masses in large countries than the demagogue ever was in the small countries of former days."[1] And the evil has been enormously increased by the fact that the "demagogues" of propaganda attain their ends by the use of money and the printing press in place of their vocal organs.

We have passed in review the principal phenomena

[1] *Modern Democracy*, p. 460.

in the decline of three distinct kinds of liberty. In this downward process, the economic factor outweighs by far all the other factors. The injury to our civil liberty has not yet become grave. It may be only a temporary phenomenon. On the other hand, it may become permanent if the dominant economic interests can see their way to supplement the laws against criminal syndicalism by legislation against "radicalism." As regards the decline in economic and political liberty, all the signs of the present time forbid us to hope for an early termination. As we survey present conditions and the unmistakable trend of political and economic forces, we find a good deal of reason to fear that history is about to repeat itself. After more than three centuries, there approaches a return to feudalism. In the Middle Ages, feudalism was based upon military force and the ownership of land. The new feudalism is political and industrial. Not improbably it will be more or less benevolent. The lords of industry will realise, at least for some little time, that their position and profits will be more secure if they refrain from the cruder and coarser forms of injustice, and permit the dependent classes, both urban and rural, to obtain a moderate share of the products of industry. The masses will probably enjoy a slightly higher degree of economic welfare than has ever been within their reach before. But they will enjoy it at the expense of genuine freedom. They will have surrendered the right, which was once universal in America, to determine their own economic lives. They may not accept this loss of freedom with complacency, but their protests will be feeble and ineffective. The mind of the masses will have become servile. Possibly that is the kind of society that we want in America, but it is not the kind that made and kept America free.

JOHN A. RYAN.

UNPUBLISHED IRISH POEMS

XXXVI—On A Dagger

EDITED BY PROFESSOR OSBORN BERGIN, D.LITT.

Donnchadh Cairbreach, Lord of Thomond, who presented the poet with a beautiful dagger, was sixth in descent from Brian Bóramha, through his fourth son, Tadhg, and was thus a distant cousin of Murchadh *na n-each*: see No. XXVIII. His mother was a daughter of Diarmaid na nGall. He died in 1242. The poem is anonymous in the only copy known to me; the author may have been Muireadhach Albanach, who addresses Donnchadh Cairbreach in other poems. According to the Four Masters, Donnchadh aided Muireadhach in his flight from O'Donnell in 1213; see No. XXVI. The dagger is personified as a lady, the word *sgían* being feminine. A supplementary quatrain thanks the carver for his entertainment. The text is from A. IV. 3, R.I.A.

1. Sgían mo charad ar mo chliú,
nírsum ralag[1] mían na mná,
ní racha[2] ar ngrádh dhí gach día,
go ría slán an tí gá ttá.

2. Ní holc í, ní dáor a dealbh,
gé cáomh a lí, ní lí gharbh:
an tí do sgeach an sgían ghorm,
fíal um chorn um each 's um arm.

3. Atá a sáith uirre don ór,
agus buinni bláith ré a bél:
tug an ghég dhonnmhailghioch dhúnn
an séd úr ghormfhaighnioch gér.

4. Aith agus leabhar a los,
bláith agus sleamhan a slios:
do-rad úaidh an cíabhfhann cas
íarann glas crúaidh ar mo chrios.

5. Faighin dúalach agá díon,
go húallach agus go húr,
órchluidhe trom ina táobh,
cráobh lom chróchbhuidhi 'na cúl.

[1] rolag MS. [2] rach MS.

6. Bean do mhnáibh an tíre theas,
go gcnáimh sídhe mar an snas,
banMhuimhnioch cháomh ar mo chrios,
go slios cháomh ghlandruimnioch ghlas.

7. Donnchadh Cairbrioch na gcon gcáomh,
ní hairgthioch ar chrodh na gclíar,
trilis roimhín fhionn mar ór,
lór liom fám sgloimhín a sgían.

8. Máol Rúanaidh, rannaire an ríogh,
go ndúalaigh cambuidhi a chíabh,
gnúis cháidh mar fhuil nó mar fhíon,
go díol cáigh ní sguir, a sgían.

Translation

1. My friend's dagger at my left—I am not weak in devotion to the lady: my love shall not depart from her each day, till he to whom she belongs return safe.
2. She is no poor thing of base aspect; though her complexion is handsome, it is not coarse: he who bestowed (?) the blue dagger is lavish of goblets and steeds and arms.
3. She has all the gold she needs, and a smooth circlet at her lip: the dark-browed scion has given us the new blue-sheathed sharp jewel.
4. Keen and long is its point, smooth and sleek its side: the soft-haired curly prince has set the grey steel in my belt.
5. A plaited scabbard, proud and new, protects it, on its side a heavy gold ridge, on its back a bare red-yellow branch.
6. A lady from the south, with elfin ivory lovely as the carving, a dear Munster lady at my girdle, with flank shapely, clean-ridged, grey.
7. Donnchadh Cairbreach of the comely hounds, he spoils no poets of their wealth; smooth fair locks like gold—I am content to have his dagger under my pilgrim's cloak.
8. Maol Ruanaidh, the king's carver, with bending yellow curls in his hair, revered countenance like blood or wine—until all others have had their fill, he does not rest, O dagger.

Osborn Bergin.

RECENT LITERATURE ON THE CANCER PROBLEM [1]

BY WILLIAM DOOLIN

OF the many medical questions still awaiting solution none transcends in tragic importance the cancer problem. The medical practitioner to-day knows as little concerning its cause and origin as his forbears knew of the factors responsible for the epidemics of typhoid and smallpox which ravaged the population of their time. The clinician and the pathologist have long been intimately acquainted with the actual manifestations of cancer in the human body ; the antecedents of these, however, have remained maddeningly obscure. At present it is scarcely an exaggeration to state that we stand in respect of our knowledge of cancer much as our grandfathers stood sixty years ago at the dawn of bacteriology.

Before going further, one question arises which needs a definite answer. Two classes of society have a direct interest in the cancer problem, viz., those who suffer from

[1] Publications of the League of Nations : Annual Report of the Health Organisation for the year 1925. Geneva, 1926.

Report of the Medical Research Council for the year 1924-1925. London : H.M. Stationery Office, 1926.

Reports on Public Health and Medical Subjects. Ministry of Health :—No. 28. A Statistical Investigation of the Literature on Operated Cases of Cancer of the Breast and its Surgical Treatment. By Janet Lane-Claypon, M.D., 1924.—No. 32. A Further Report on Cancer of the Breast, with special reference to its Associated Antecedent Conditions. By Janet Lane-Claypon, M.D., 1926.—No. 33 The Natural Duration of Cancer. By Major Greenwood, M.D., 1926.—No. 34. The Late Results of Cancer of the Breast (Leeds), 1926.

Cancer Mortality amongst insured Wage-earners and their Families : The Experience of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. Industrial Dept., 1911-1922. New York, 1925.

Cancer Mortality in Australia : A Statistical Study. By J. M. Holmes. Commonwealth of Australia, Department of Public Health. Service Publication No. 30. Melbourne, 1925.

Huntington Memorial Hospital for Cancer Research, Harvard University, Thirteenth Annual Report, 1926.

Gye, W. E., and Barnard, J. E., *Lancet*, July 18, 1925.

it, and those whose efforts are directed towards cure or, if cure be impossible, towards alleviation of suffering. The question is : *Should the doctors tell ?* In other words, is publication of such cancer facts as are within our knowledge desirable amongst the laity ? There is a very general prevalence of opinion among medical men that a knowledge of the incidence and spread of the disease, as of the institution of measures designed to check its high mortality, are matters that cannot be too widely or too authoritatively discussed. Information of this type is being supplied in bulk by the British Ministry of Health as likely to lead to a direct benefit being derived from such knowledge by the public. The doctors are willing, nay, anxious to teach. Recent correspondence in certain medical journals goes to show that there is a very serious need for the education of the public regarding cancer. The knowledge that cure is attainable if treatment be undertaken in the early stages is information which needs to be broadcasted far and wide. One medical authority has actually gone so far as to assert that if the public were armed with the knowledge of the disease at present at the command of the medical profession, they could, by their own efforts and within a few years, reduce the death-rate from cancer by 25 per cent. On the Continent and in America a public anti-cancer campaign has been in full swing for several years.

To take but one example of the benefit to the public of such knowledge, we may quote from an inspiring contribution to the February number of *The World's Work*, from the pen of Prof. Winter, of Königsberg, in which he relates the immediate effect of such a publicity amongst a population ignorant of cancer facts. In 1903 he made the following observations on a series of 242 patients suffering from cancer of the womb :—

> (*a*) 15 per cent. of the doctors who had been treating these patients were to blame for faulty diagnosis, or for delay in treatment.

(*b*) 45 per cent. of the midwives (who in Germany are often consulted by women afraid to consult doctors) were responsible for the aggravation of the cancer, because they had treated the patients themselves instead of sending them to a doctor.

(*c*) Only 32 per cent. of the women suffering from cancer consulted a doctor within three months following the first appearance of symptoms; many allowed over a year to elapse in this fashion.

Appalled at the general want of knowledge brought to light by his enquiries, Professor Winter started a vigorous educational campaign amongst the public and doctors of his area. By means of pamphlets distributed to the student-body of the University, special leaflets for midwives, and articles in the daily press and public lectures, the number of neglected cases coming to the University Clinic rapidly diminished.

Outside the purely professional journals, there are several sources of accurate information available to the public. The Cancer Commission of the League of Nations have published three special reports on their investigations into cancer mortality in certain countries. The Medical Research Council, in addition to their Annual Reports, in which questions of experimental cancer research figure prominently, have also published the results of a special investigation into the occurrence of cancer in different trades. The Ministry of Health has undertaken a special statistical enquiry as to the prevalence and cure of cancer, and has published a series of admirable reports on the subject. These reports, however, with their special technical nomenclature and elaborate statistical tables, are not likely to prove popular reading. It is with the hope of bringing their findings home to the non-medical reader in more palatable fashion that, at the request of the Editor of *Studies*, I have attempted to summarise their findings in language as little technical as possible.

Three methods of investigation into medical problems are commonly disposed of. The first and oldest, that of clinical observation, is as old as medicine itself. The second, the experimental method, dates from Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood; it obtained tremendous impetus from the science of bacteriology inaugurated by Pasteur's discoveries. The third, the epidemiological or statistical method, dates from Sydenham's first observations on the "natural history of fevers" in the seventeenth century. The observational method, the method of the bedside and of the pathological laboratory, has taught us the recognition of established cancer, its method of spread within the body, and the manner in which it accomplishes the death of its victim; of first causes it has taught us nothing. The experimental method has been pursued by innumerable workers in Europe and America for many years, and has been fruitful in accumulating a host of observed experimental facts as to the possibility of transplanting tumours as grafts from one host to another. We are still, however, largely ignorant of the direct causative factors of cancer, chiefly because none of the experimental workers—up to very recently—had succeeded in reproducing the disease under conditions likely to obtain in the case of human cancer. We shall refer to this point again later. The statistical investigation of the cancer problem has been undertaken to seek a knowledge of the incidence of the disease, of its variability, prevalence, duration, etc., in the hope that such carefully ascertained facts may throw some light on the problem; it is, further, the only reliable method of evaluating results of treatment in large series of cases.

A word first as to the *cause* of cancer. Amongst the speculative minds of the medical profession two main lines of thought have exercised a great attraction in this field; they may be briefly expressed as two opposing hypotheses, the *cellular* and the *parasitic*. To the third-

year medical student a cancerous growth is easily explained as "epithelium gone mad." He thereupon conjures up for himself a vision of a host of cells, originating in one or other of the lining membranes of the body, suddenly taking on unrestrained growth and rapidly invading neighbouring tissues and organs without rhyme or reason. What the stimulus was that prompted such aberrant growth nobody knew; the possibility of injury or irritation being the responsible factor obtained a certain amount of experimental support, but was not of universal application. The likelihood of an invading parasite was then hypothecated; but, numerous as were the varieties claimed to have been seen and observed, none were successful in reproducing the disease under conditions likely to obtain in the case of human cancer. Up to last year, on either hypothesis, we were actually ignorant of the *direct* causative factor or factors of cancer.

In July, 1925, the medical world was startled out of its resigned state of mind—a resignation tinged with not a little scepticism towards all new claims—by two companion papers published in the *Lancet* by Dr. W. E. Gye and Mr. J. E. Barnard, F.R.S., upon "The Etiology of Malignant Growths." This preliminary report—for it claimed to be nothing more—indicated (1) that Dr. Gye has successfully isolated a filter-passing virus capable of producing malignant growths under specific conditions, and (2) that by specially refined methods of optical observation and photography Mr. Barnard had succeeded not alone in rendering this ultra-microscopic virus visible, but in photographing it.

There are many diseases of animal life for which a causative microbe has not yet been isolated. The discovery that certain viruses, or poisonous substances, were capable of passing through filters so fine as to catch ordinary microbes led to the use of the term "filter-passing"; amongst the diseases believed to be due to such ultra-microscopic organisms are distemper in dogs,

encephalitis lethargica (the " sleepy sickness " of recent epidemic form), shingles, and small-pox. The bodies described last year by Dr. Gye and Mr. Barnard belong to this class.

It had been shown by Dr. Peyton Rous, of the Rockefeller Institute, New York, in 1911, that sarcoma, a rapidly fatal malignant tumour in a certain breed of fowls, can be caused by an agent so small as to be able to pass through very fine filters that would hold back ordinary bacteria. The agent was believed to be a filter-passing virus. Dr. Gye has now provided experimental proof that this opinion is true. In the first place, he has shown that the agent in question is corpuscular ; in the second place, he devised means to cultivate the organism artificially and so to use it in isolation for experimental work. He found evidence that the cultivated and isolated germ could not alone produce a new tumour, but only in the presence of an equally essential second factor, a non-corpuscular and, therefore, a non-living and soluble substance, which could be obtained from the substance of the previous tumour. The microbe itself is quite invisible by ordinary microscopic methods. Mr. Barnard, however, has devised special means for demonstrating its presence and for gaining some first approximations to its description by using ultra-violet light, the rays of which have wave-lengths shorter than those of visible light. The success of this work and of other developments of optical technique allowed the presence or absence in given preparations of the virus, as demonstrated experimentally by Dr. Gye, to be detected independently, and thus each part of the work could provide a check upon the results of the other.

This new work transforms our outlook upon the general problem of the cause of cancer. Observation has shown that malignant disease occurs in almost all animals. Through all the range of the animal kingdom it begins in the same way in the form of a local swelling,

almost always single ; it spreads in the same way to set up more remote secondary tumours elsewhere ; it ends in the same way, in the death of the host. Microscopically, a given variety of cancer in man, say of the skin, is the same as a cancer of the same tissue in a mouse or dog or any other animal. The disease presents in that respect a uniformity which is almost without parallel in pathology. Clinically and biologically it is an individual disease, maintaining its own characters whatever the scene of its being. The experimental study of cancer, however, has hitherto not revealed any nexus between the tumours of different species of animals. It has been found impossible, for instance, to transfer the tumour of one mouse to another by any means except by transferring some of the living tumour cells ; if the cells are killed by any means, they can no longer reproduce the tumour. Moreover, the tumours of mice can even so be propagated only in other mice and in no other kind of animal. All attempts to show the existence of an agent separable from the living cells and able to reproduce the tumour have hitherto failed.

Experimental study had indicated a particularity or specificity of malignant tumours, while clinical and general observation had seemed to establish a uniformity and generality. This has been the great paradox of medicine. Those who reflected exclusively from the clinical point of view were inclined, in general, to believe that some common causative factor must exist to link up the tumours of man and the other animals ; those who rested on the experimental findings tended, again in general, to reject such a belief. The evidence brought forward last year by Dr. Gye resolves the paradox. In essence it suggests that the common factor for all malignant tumours is a filter-passing virus or ultramicrobe, or a family of viruses. It shows that this microbe alone is harmless in the absence of some other adjuvant factor. Only in special conditions, determined

by another factor, can the microbe infect the body cells and institute a new growth, a tumour. Heretofore, it has been almost inconceivable that a separate form of cancer germ could exist to correspond with every race of animal and every different variety of tumour formation. If, however, the specificity resides in an adjuvant chemical factor derived from the tissue-cells of a given species of animal, specificity need not be postulated for the other essential agent, namely, the infective virus. Among the conspicuous general circumstances which are known to favour cancer production are those of long-continued irritation by tar and certain oils, chemicals like arsenic and aniline dyes, clay pipes, and so on. It may be found later that these apparently diverse etiological factors have a common mode of action and a common effective resultant factor.

The chicken sarcoma described by Rous is conspicuous, among all transplantable animal tumours, as being able to yield not only the virus, but also a substance which determines "infection." The virus can be replaced by viruses obtained from other tumours and from other animals. The demonstration of the truth of this is the essential feature of Gye's work, at this stage at least, and so far as the general cancer problem is concerned.

While Dr. Gye's work has as yet no immediate applicability to clinical work, the establishment of a definitely parasitic cause of malignant disease brings new hope to the prospect of gaining further knowledge. Suffice it for the present to say that an avenue is open to the experimental confirmation and extension of his results.

One of the most prevalent beliefs among the laity is the idea of a causal connection or relationship between injury and cancer. Hospital patients, in particular, are often anxious to trace their ailment to some remembered

injury.[1] The popularity of such a conception is by no means confined to a class which comes within the jurisdiction of the Workmen's Compensation Act; it has formed the central theme of at least two "best-sellers" of recent years, and was not very long ago the occasion of a *cause celèbre* in a court of law, where a schoolmaster, who had chastised a youthful culprit with a heavy ruler, was sued by the boy's father on the grounds that the injury then inflicted was directly responsible for the subsequent development of a malignant growth on the boy's arm. A traumatic origin is too often assumed, even by medical men, on inadequate evidence. Clinical impressions, or personal bias towards the side of the sufferer, are with difficulty put aside if one finds oneself in the not wholly desirable position of having to give testimony in court on behalf of a patient.

One frequently hears it stated that "cancer is on the increase." Without very large international statistics that is difficult to prove or to disprove. That the annual deathrate in certain countries shows a rise it is true, but such an increased mortality may be more apparent than real, owing to better diagnosis and to more accurate registration of deaths. The latest figures from the office of the Registrar General for the Irish Free State were quoted at the recent Inaugural Meeting of the Dublin University Biological Association, by its President, Mr. R. A. Stoney, F.R.C.S.I. They show a considerable increase in our annual deathrate for 1924, when compared with the average figure for the ten years preceding the Great War. The figures are :—

For the year 1924, cancer of all kinds, 2,903 registered deaths (*i.e.*, 918 per million inhabitants).

For the years 1904-13, cancer of all kinds, 2,617 registered deaths (*i.e.*, 827 per million inhabitants).

The British mortality rate for 1925 was 1,336 per million.

[1] Miss Claypon's very accurately compiled figures on this point show that 10 per cent. of cases of breast cancer in hospital could show a reliable history of injury, as against 26 per cent. in the controls, who had a definite history of injury, without cancer sequelae.

In 1923 a Departmental Committee of the Ministry of Health was appointed " to consider available information with regard to the causation, prevalence, and treatment of cancer." The Health Organisation of the League of Nations also formed a Sub-committee of Statisticians of their Cancer Commission, in order that the investigations which had been begun in Great Britain on the comparative mortality from cancer in different countries should be carried out internationally. The enquiry undertaken by this latter body has a strictly limited object, namely, to determine the causes of the considerable differences in the official statistics of Great Britain, Holland and Italy as regards the mortality of two special forms of cancer—viz., cancer of the breast and cancer of the womb.

The statistical investigation of cancer is a tedious and laborious task. Much time must occasionally be wasted in blind alleys, if only to prove that they are blind. But these investigations add definitely to our knowledge; they elicit facts which are of assistance in elucidating obscure points of etiology. " The role of the statistician," says Dr. Major Greenwood, " is to test, on the data available to him, hypotheses which, in his quality of technical statistician, he has not originated." They have also a negative value. They serve to dispel prevailing misconceptions. Exact figures are much more reliable than " impressions." The stories told from all statistical centres are practically concordant. Figures taken over the widest possible area would indicate the following organs, in the order given, as being the most frequent sites of cancerous change :—stomach, female genital organs, intestines, female breast, mouth, lips, tongue, skin.

Not all forms of cancer are equally fatal, as is clearly shown by the various tables of mortality, Some forms of cancer are on the increase, in which connection there is a striking parallel between some American and Australian figures recently published. In both these

countries cancer of the digestive organs would appear, from the statistical returns, to be definitely on the increase. Dr. Holmes, of the Australian Department of Public Health, draws particular attention to the outstanding factor of cancer of the digestive tract in connection with the increased mortality in recent years.

The increased deathrate from cancer appears to be operative within certain ages only. An American insurance enquiry shows that the cancer mortality amongst white women showed an increase only over the age of 65; in the two decennia 35-55 there was a significant decrease. The Australian figures show a parallel increase in cancer mortality during the seventh and eighth decades. This concentration of increase upon the older age-groups seems to be a world-wide phenomenon. There is a further striking agreement between the American and Australian observations that, whereas for certain ages there is an increase in cancer of the female breast, there is no corresponding increase of the rate of mortality from cancer of the female genital organs.

In spite of the fact that they are still incomplete, the data collected on certain aetiological factors predisposing to cancer have a real value, in that they throw a certain amount of light on aspects of the cancer problem which have been hitherto obscure, because the material necessary for their study could be collected only by means of an international enquiry.

The Cancer Commission of the League of Nations has recently submitted a report of their statistical enquiry into the comparative mortality from cancer in different countries. The enquiry was limited strictly to the possible determination of the causes of the considerable differences in the official statistics of Great Britain, Holland and Italy as regards the mortality rate of two special forms of cancer, cancer of the breast and cancer of the womb. The deathrate in Great Britain from these two forms of cancer is much greater than the mean deathrate from

the same causes in Holland and Italy. The enquiry undertaken was of both a demographic and clinical character. The following conclusions were deduced from the results of the investigations: among unmarried women the deathrate from cancer of the breast is highest and the deathrate from cancer of the womb is lowest. The incidence of cancer of the breast and of cancer of the womb is in inverse proportion to the number of children born. The clinical enquiry is as yet incomplete, the Commission so far having only been able to examine in detail the results obtained in Holland. So far as they have gone, however, the following facts have emerged. The question of surgical treatment was given special attention, and it was shown that as a rule such treatment prolonged the lives of patients by at least three years—and sometimes, under favourable conditions, by as much as ten years. The proportion of cases in which women suffering from cancer of the breast undergo surgical treatment is unfortunately very small in both countries. This fact was confirmed by subsequent investigations in Italian hospitals, and it was found that in each of these three countries *at least one-third of the women suffering from cancer of the breast die without having undergone surgical treatment.* The Commission therefore thought it desirable to draw public attention to these facts in all three countries.

In 1924 Dr. Janet Lane Claypon, of the British Ministry of Health, drew the following practical conclusions from a statistical analysis of approximately 20,000 cases of cancer of the breast submitted to operation :—[1]

1. That after performance of the "incomplete"

[1] For the benefit of non-medical readers, it is well to explain that two types of operation have been in vogue for the surgical treatment of this condition: (*a*) the older "incomplete" operation, by which were removed the cancerous breast, a moderate amount of skin covering, and the lymphatic glands in the armpit into which the breast drains; (*b*) the modern "complete" operation, in which the surgeon aims at removing *en bloc* the whole cancer-cell-bearing tissue, a much more extensive dissection.

operation, out of a net total of 7,029 patients, 2,056 (29·2 per cent.) were alive at the end of three years after operation.

2. That after performance of the "complete operation, out of a net total of 8,921 patients, 3,857 (43·2 per cent.) were alive at the end of three years after operation.
3. That with the "complete" operation the prospect of cure is intensively affected by the stage of the disease at which the patient is operated upon. Thus :—(*a*) if the disease is still local and no secondary growth has occurred, the percentage of the survivors at three or more years after operation is from 65 to 80 per cent.; (*b*) if secondary growths have already occurred, the percentage of survivors at three years after operation falls to 30 per cent. or less; (*c*) if the disease is very advanced, some 8 to 9 per cent. only survive as long as three years after operation.
4. That the expectation of life after the onset of cancer of the breast where the disease runs its own course may be taken as being on an average not more than 3 years and 6 months.
5. That in the aggregate (*i.e.*, without reference to the stage of the disease at operation) the effect of the "complete" operation is to prolong life, increasing the expectation of life from the onset of the disease by 2 to 3 years.
6. That in patients operated upon by the "complete" operation while the disease is still local, the expectation of life may be as much as ten years more than in unoperated cases.

The outstanding fact in a subsequent and more detailed report by the same worker is that the clinical condition of 500 patients examined in hospital showed that at the outside only some 15 per cent. of them had

presented themselves for treatment at a stage of the disease at which any real prospect of prolonged relief or possible cure could be considered likely. As virtually 80 per cent. of these patients had come direct to the hospital without even seeking advice from their own doctors, the factor of delay cannot be imputed to the general practitioner. The truth is that *the huge majority of patients come seeking surgical aid when it is too late.*

Any numerical measure of cure, as Dr. Major Greenwood justly points out, must take account of three quantities: (1) the average duration of life of a person of the same age as the patient, but not known to be suffering from the disease; (2) the average duration of life of a person suffering from the disease and left untreated; (3) the average duration of life of a person suffering from the disease and treated by a method which it is desired to test. If we take cancer of the breast as an example, it is shown that the normal expectation of life of a woman aged 55 is almost 19 years. The expectation of life of a woman with untreated cancer of the breast is slightly over three years; that of a woman operated on under average conditions is 5 to 6 years, and of a woman operated on under the best conditions is about 13 years. By "average" conditions are to be understood the usual conditions in which women present themselves for treatment, *i.e.*, not too far advanced to render the prospect of a radical operation hopeless. By "best" conditions is meant a cancer strictly localised to the organ involved, not yet invading the skin or the lymphatic glands. This latter point is of the utmost importance in making a forecast as to the success or otherwise of a recently performed operation. Years ago Dr. Bloodgood, of Johns Hopkins University, a world-renowned authority on this subject, declared emphatically that if at the time of operation the cancerous change were confined to the breast, operative removal afforded the patient four chances out of five of a lasting cure; whereas, if the cancer had spread beyond

the boundaries of the primary seat of the disease (the "average" conditions alluded to above), the chances of success were reduced to less than two out of five.

The evidence in favour of the earliest possible surgical treatment of cancer is incontrovertible. Each year there comes to the out-patient departments of our city hospitals a large number of patients suffering from inoperable cancer. Careful inquiry into the history of each case reveals the fact that, in practically every instance, the patient is the one person responsible for the delay in diagnosis. The failure—or the fear—to consult the medical man is the greatest factor in the delay. These patients—and they are the preponderating majority—have thrown away their chances of a cure; when they do come for consultation it is already too late for relief by surgical treatment.

Three statements can be made without fear of contradiction :—

1. An appreciable percentage of the annual cancer deathrate could be reduced by early diagnosis and early treatment.
2. A large factor in the responsibility for the present high mortality bill is the failure of patients to present themselves for clinical examination at a stage when the disease is curable; by waiting till a later stage, when only a *palliative*, and not a *curative*, operation, can be undertaken, surgical treatment is brought into discredit amongst the public, and other sufferers are deterred, through ignorance of the facts, from timely examination. The vicious circle is complete.
3. Education of the public is absolutely necessary. With fuller knowledge of the facts their co-operation will ensure earlier diagnosis, earlier treatment, and a consequent reduction in mortality.

William Doolin.

MEMORIES OF A SAINT

BY STEPHEN GWYNN

AN Englishwoman who recently happened to stay in Cork on October 10th found the city *en fête* and full of people. She asked the reason. "Don't you know it's Father Mathew's birthday?" they told her. O'Connell's birthday is not celebrated; commemorations of Parnell's funeral grow faint; the one Irishman of the nineteenth century whose fame is comparable to theirs, lives in a more affectionate remembrance. Yet few outside Cork know that his grave there is a place of pilgrimage, hung with pathetic rags and covered with pins and other little personal objects like a holy well—those who once wore them hoping to benefit by the influence of his continuing sanctity.

These facts, though new to me, would mean less to my mind had I not been in the way of learning some intimate details about the life of this gentle apostle, details which brought vividly before me both the man and his time. But before I set them down, let me recall the outline of his public career.

Theobald Mathew was born in 1790 at Thomastown, Lord Llandaff's house in Tipperary, and was brought up there; for his father, come of a younger branch, had been left an orphan and was adopted by Lord Llandaff and left in permanent charge of the huge place. All the Mathews, unlike the Anglo-Irish society to which they belonged, were Catholics. Later on James Mathew and his family (which increased to twelve, Theobald being the fourth of nine sons) moved out to a very large farm in the Golden Vale of Tipperary. But Thomastown was always a home to them, and Lady Elizabeth Mathew,

Lord Llandaff's rather eccentric but able daughter, took a special fancy to "Toby," as the future apostle was called. It lasted into a life-long friendship; and as she was grown up when Toby was christened, this woman of the world must have had a singular experience in watching the evolution of a saint.

The only things specially remarkable about the boy Toby were his unselfishness, his lack of taste for killing things, and his desire to give parties. He too, like Goldsmith, was "a great lover of happy faces," and this was his first expression of the passion. It led him into trouble at Maynooth, since he was expelled a year after he entered for giving a party in his rooms—such convivialities being strictly forbidden. He decided then to become a friar rather than a secular priest, and entered the Capuchin branch of the Franciscan Order. After being ordained, he began his ministrations at Kilkenny, but the bishop one day sent to the young priest as he sat in the confessional an order to cease his functions, because contrary to rule he had administered Holy Communion on Easter Day. The charge was untrue and was withdrawn with apologies, but Father Mathew preferred to be in another diocese and betook himself to Cork.

Here for nearly quarter of a century he ministered, and nobody out of Cork ever heard of him; but in Cork he was known to all. In those early days he had no gift as a preacher, his voice was weak and reedy when he spoke; but in the confessional the magic of his sympathy made itself felt. People flocked there. His biographer quotes the description given of him by one of his penitents: "The worse you are in the beginning, the better he'd like you; but if you didn't improve very soon, there's no usage too bad for you." Over and above his sympathy was his bounty. "Give, give, give, have no fear of giving," was his lifelong counsel. It was better he said to give to nineteen fraudulent beggars, if there was one case in twenty that should not be turned away.

"If the streets of Cork were paved with gold, and Father Mathew had control of them, there would not be a paving stone in Cork by the end of the year," said one who had worked with him; and no doubt there was sense in the saying. But he was not a mere indiscriminate flinger of alms: he had a conception, far in advance of his time, of what town life should be. In truth many of the financial troubles which were his curse sprang from attempting through private bounty what is now done by the State or the rates. Through his labours there was established an industrial school which soon had five hundred scholars. The best known of his works however was partly a measure of hygiene and partly of freedom. The burying ground was overcrowded, and it was controlled solely by the authorities of the Established Church. Feeling grew fierce when the Dean of Cork sent down a message to stop a Catholic dignitary from reading the funeral service at a burial, because the Dean's permission had not been obtained. The whole thing was a cause of offence in more ways than one, and Father Mathew set to work and secured as a graveyard for the community at large what had been the Botanic Gardens. It is there that he lies himself, and not in the family burying place. His dust is with all the common dust of Cork, citizen with citizen.

There probably never was a man to whom it could have been more hateful to have sectarian controversies revived over a grave. He is the only Catholic priest I ever heard of who insisted again and again that he had been urged to his special mission by persons of another creed.

Up to 1838 he was simply a Franciscan friar, following the rule of that Order which exacts most humility: having many friends among the rich and adored by the poor, yet in no way marked off from his fellows, except that in those days a Catholic priest come from the gentry was a rare figure. He had no austerity. Maguire, his

biographer, tells how one of his friends, calling at night upon him, heard the sound of merriment as he climbed the ricketty stair and entered a room where a dozen people sat round the long table over which Father Mathew presided: nor were there wanting glasses and the "materials." In short this priest till well on in middle age accepted the usages of his time, and whiskey punch was as much a part of them in Ireland as wine is in the life of France.

But he was a member of many public committees for prevention of misery; and at these the drink question would always crop up; and there was always in the corner a short, stout, exuberant Quaker (even Quakers had the stamp of Cork on their speech) who never failed to say: "Ah, Theobald Mathew, if thou would'st take the matter up." The end was that Father Mathew one night sent for William Martin, and William Martin came joyfully and was not disappointed. He had found his leader.

The first meeting was held in Father Mathew's schoolroom, and the priest having explained the purpose, with the blank roll before him, ended up his speech by saying: "So here goes," and he signed his name first on a list that was to reach into millions. That was on April 10, 1838, and the propaganda started. William Martin proved to be right. When the poor of Cork found that Father Mathew was in the movement, they began to pay attention: it grew, and by December the signatories were 150,000, people flocking in from the country districts. The fame of it spread, and he was invited to come to Waterford, but decided to take Limerick in his way on the first stage of his missionary journey. No one was prepared for what happened. Crowds converged till the old town was choked to danger point. 150,000 people signed on here, and another 80,000 in Waterford. The apostle came back to Cork, having gained quarter of a million adherents; and everywhere people clamoured for his presence. At Birr, as he sat in the chapel adminis-

tering the pledge, a regiment was drawn up around the building with fixed bayonets to keep back the crowd, lest people should trample each other to death in the effort to approach him. At Athy, as he travelled back from Dublin by mail coach, it became known that he was inside, and people poured out of the streets and blocked the way till he should accept their names and bless them. The mail was delayed five hours, and a protest was sent to the speculator who ran the mailcars: he answered it by giving Father Mathew a free pass to travel when and where he pleased on his work. For there was no doubt in men's minds during these early years but that the work was a blessed work. The drink bill fell and fell; so did the list of crimes. Twelve and a quarter million gallons of Irish whiskey paid duty in 1839; five and a half million in 1844. Father Mathew had occasion to raise funds for the building of his church in Cork: Roe, the great whiskey distiller in Dublin, sent him a large cheque, saying: "No man has ever done me such harm, but it is a small thing beside the good you have done my country."

Nor was there any distinction of creed in support. He went to Ulster against advice, for in the forties, sectarian feeling was more dangerous than now; and even now it is not negligible. But Ulster poured out to welcome the friar. At Clones in Monaghan they hung out Orange flags in his honour. "That's the first time I saw an Orange flag," he said. "Three cheers for it." And the crowd cheered, Catholic and Protestant; and Catholics and Protestants were great friends for the three days Father Mathew was in Clones. He had his own way of looking at these matters. One man after signing got his blessing and stood up saying: "Ah, Father, if you knew what I am you'd not be blessing me: I'm an Orangeman." "God bless you, my dear" (he called everyone 'my dear'), "I wouldn't care if you were a lemon man."

This genial humorous humanity no doubt accounted for much. But it would be idle to suppose that Father Mathew in 1839 was the same man as when he signed the roll that 10th of April, 1838. Things had happened incredibly through his agency; and it was not in his nature to attribute their happening to himself. Why they happened, how they had happened, might be understood if we really knew the psychology of crowds or the philosophy of miracles; but plainly enough a thing outside all ordinary human experience was taking place; furious wife-beating savages were being transformed into decent steady workmen; and to the chief agent in that happening it could only seem that power was given him for a purpose. He accepted the fact of his power. Manifestly, he attached to the pledge a kind of miraculous power; for again and again he administered it to men actually drunken. "I will never refuse the pledge to anyone," he said, "and I find that people who come to me drunk keep the pledge." There is testimony that in many cases this happened. But when the multitudes sought to assign to him personally a supernatural power of healing, he told them plainly and publicly that he had no warrant to attempt this. "I will not refuse my blessing to them if they ask it: or rather I will pray God to bless them: I have heard Protestants do as much," he said. But he made it clear that, in his judgment, his blessing was no way different from the blessing of any devout priest. I do not think that he would have said that "the pledge" administered by him had not special efficacy; I do not see how he could have believed that. At all events all Ireland believed that the pledge, for its effect, could be administered only by him personally: that he was in that sense a vehicle of power created for this purpose.

In such conditions a man inevitably comes to feel that the necessities of the purpose which he serves override all other considerations; and against such a con-

viction no ordinary will can stand. It was natural for his abounding affection to regard his kindred as part of himself, and natural to his selflessness to set aside their material interests, the cause compelling, exactly as he would have set aside his own.

Fate brought about a singularly dramatic moment when his two brothers, who were partners in a distillery, died in early middle age, leaving their children to Father Mathew's guardianship. This was at the height of his movement. "I cannot be associated with the carrying on of such a business," he said; and he shut down the distillery. Its plant was sold, and there are somewhere in the Midlands great vats, the remnant of that sale, with the name Mathew graven on them. No act could have been less justifiable at law; but such was his authority that no one gainsaid him. In one of the two families, the mother and her folk had means to make provision; in the other, responsibility for all was assumed by his brothers and passed to their sons. Fifty years later, his favourite nephew was still maintaining two old ladies whom this action had deprived of their small inheritance—or chance of inheritance. Yet whether in spite of him, or because of him, prosperity did not forsake the family.

He himself had quite early in the movement exhausted all his resources: more, he had involved himself deeply. For this he had some justification. Lady Elizabeth Mathew had become sole heiress of her father; she was unmarried, and she had talked repeatedly of making Father "Toby" her heir. He counted on it—for his beneficences. But when she realised that to leave Thomastown to Toby would be in reality making it over to the Franciscans, she changed her mind, and willed it to a French kinsman, the Comte de Jarnac. It is odd to reflect that if the Franciscans had got it, Thomastown would be to-day a monastery and a school and some centre of life, instead of what it is—a ruin. But at all

events no money came to Father Mathew, and for great part of his career he was deeply in debt. At his own charges he had been conducting a vast propaganda—his printing bill was over £500 a year; and this was only one item among scores. Among them they left him over £7,000 in debt—at the very time when accusations were brought against him of acquiring huge sums by the sale of medals and the like. Finally he was arrested for debt: the bailiff had the brilliant idea of taking his place in the crowd that were signing the pledge; and as he knelt before the priest, he presented the writ.

Manifestly these money troubles of his must have weighted specially heavy on the household to which he was most attached, that of his brother Charles, who lived at Lehenagh, just outside Cork. Every day, if "the priest" did not dine with Charles Mathew, Charles dined with "the priest," and in the household "the priest's" will was law. The eldest of his nephews was then a clever boy, going to Mr. Porter's school in Cork, which had trained many fine scholars (Father Mathew's code had nothing in it against sending the Catholic boy to school among Protestants). One day James Mathew, then fifteen, came back and said to his uncle: "The boys say I ought to go to Trinity." "Do they my dear? Very well. You shall go to Trinity." James's father was then away on a tour of inspection, and when he came back was told simply what "the priest" had decided. And it was "the priest" who took the boy up to the University and settled him into his rooms. But as they were at their hotel something crossed Father Mathew's mind. "What kind of a handkerchief have you, James? A spotted handkerchief. That won't do at all when you go in among the young men in Trinity."

My father was one of "the young men" and one of those who valued an early friendship with the future Lord Justice. Those who remember Sir James Mathew at the bar or on the Bench, or at the head of the pleasantest

table I ever sat at in London, can make to themselves some picture of what Father Mathew was like: an old daguerreotype shows almost exactly the same profile.

Nothing in all that I have read or been told gives me a happier impression than the story of the old "Apostle of Temperance" taking the young scholar to college and seeing him properly kitted out. But the year in which James Mathew was taken to Trinity must have been the last happy year of "the priest's" life; for early in 1846 came the beginnings of famine, which grew and grew. At first people doubted the extent of ruin, and in Liverpool, where Father Mathew had held a great mission, the Rathbones, leaders in good works, wrote to the Irishman they most trusted. Father Mathew answered: "Come and see." They came; and after they had seen, a ship full of grain was chartered by them for Cork. But for all the bounty that was poured out—and nothing gives one so high an idea of the active compassion shown as Father Mathew's letters—it was like throwing buckets of water on a conflagration that has taken hold. Those months killed O'Connell: Father Mathew lived through them, but they broke him. He had always said: "I am the strongest man in Ireland," and Thackeray, who saw him, described him as forty-two when he was ten years older. But there was a double strain on him now: the temperance mission never ceased, but the labour of the soup-kitchen overrode it. And in the temperance mission he had been lifted up on the wings of achievement, not with pride but with joy. It was then as if the angels had come into a fight on earth and he was on the side of the angels, and winning. Now in this fight, and indeed in both fights, the victory was too evidently turning to the other camp. Life had gone out of the temperance movement: how should there be vitality among all that death? As for the soup-kitchens and the grain ships, his personal exertion probably saved the lives of hundreds, but the dead accumulated in heaps about him.

His cemetery had to be closed in June 1848 : ten thousand corpses had been put into it within nine months. Here is an incident that stamps the time and the man. A rich youth, not yet of age, to whom Father Mathew had been kind, came to ask what should be done with a half-starved child that he had found in the fields, asleep in the arms of its dead mother. "God sent you that child. You can't do better than rear it," was the answer ; and the lad, though dismayed, did as he was bidden. Long before this, Father Mathew had turned to his brother and said : " We can keep nothing while people are dying of hunger," and once again no one challenged his sentence. Everything was given away that they had to give.

At the very climax of the struggle, in Lent of 1848, as he rose from bed early, his feet failed under him : it was paralysis. Yet by August of that year he was back again, fighting death, but not with the same resources. Mr. Rathbone expressed it in a sentence. His presence had conveyed by some mysterious means the sense of goodness and of power. " After his attack the impression of goodness was the same, but the power was gone."

By 1849, most of those who had to die of famine or famine fever had finished dying : emigration was still clearing the decks, and the afflux of Irish to America gave a new impetus to his desire to carry his mission across the Atlantic. He went and remained for one year, but there was no uninterrupted triumph : he was called on to take sides about the issue of slavery, and could not, without closing the South to his ministrations. Perhaps no complication so difficult had ever met him, and he was not the man he had been. He came back to Ireland and found many of the Temperance Rooms had been shut down, the bands (which he had subsidised) were broken up. Outside Cork he was no longer a force ; but in Cork the poor still flocked about him. Yet the years which remained were a slow ebbing of his faculties. The time came when he had to give up saying his daily

Mass : and in this last stage he went out to Queenstown and there tottered, white-haired and infirm, in the streets. Even in those days the ruling passion for happy faces lasted : his brother one afternoon came down to spend the evening with him and found the table spread for a party : he had lent his room to a schoolboy to entertain his friends. Probably no one ever was born with more capacity for innocent happiness ; but when the end came in 1856, instead of the serenity that so often smooths out a tortured visage, pain flooded the dead face. The affection of every day, the craving, never baulked, for pleasure in giving, were only the surface ripples : terrible deep waters ran under, in the soul which had exulted in victory on the side of the angels, and then so far as human sense could reach, had seen the angels routed and death scattering dismay.

Yet in the memory of him which has come down in the household which would have been nearest to his living care there is no trace of this tragedy. He has been somehow present and pervading and felt in the atmosphere of a home where happiness has always seemed to me more gracious than I have known it elsewhere. What is actually remembered of him there is now only by tradition ; for Sir James Mathew passed out of this life long years ago, and the mother of his children never saw "the priest." But what she heard, not from one but from many, she sums up by saying that, for all his gentleness, when he entered a room, it was natural for those in it to kneel. And I am sure that those who preserve this memory would say that the angels were not beaten.

STEPHEN GWYNN.

PLOT AND COUNTERPLOT IN ELIZABETHAN IRELAND

BY W. F. BUTLER, M.A., M.R.I.A.

THE history of 16th century Ireland is too often put before us in a purely partisan spirit; high politics are stressed, to the exclusion of those more personal details which give colour to the equally confused and turbulent stories of contemporary Scotland and France. In the following pages I give an account of the doings of some restless kinsmen of that great upholder of the English and Protestant interest, Thomas, tenth Earl of Ormond, Elizabeth's "black husband," in the hope of showing that Ireland, too, was not at this period without a stock of picturesque or forcible, though (one must confess) somewhat ruffianly, characters.

Earl Thomas was the eldest of the seven sons of James, ninth Earl of Ormond, and his wife, Joan, daughter of James, eleventh Earl of Desmond. The history of his life is practically that of Elizabethan Ireland.

Of his brothers, John, third of the sons of Earl James and ancestor of the present Marquis of Ormond, appears as an influential figure in Munster in the sixties of the century. He was badly wounded, so that his recovery was at first doubtful, in a conflict with the Geraldines in 1563. He died in 1570; and as he does not figure in the troublous times of 1568 and 1569, it is probable that he had been in failing health for some time before his death.

Walter and James, the two next in order of the brothers, play no part in history. But as regards the second of the brothers, Sir Edmund (he had been knighted in 1567 for services against the O'Mores), and Edward and Piers, the two youngest of the family, the case is different. Already in 1567 Sidney, the Lord

Deputy, reports that the country of the O'Meaghers was devastated by the younger brothers of the Earl of Ormond. Disorder at the time was general on the borders of Tipperary. While the Earl of Desmond was serving in the English Pale, his followers were attacked by Piers Butler of Grallagh, brother of Lord Dunboyne, and by his sons James and John. They made a prey upon Mac-i-Brien of Coonagh's country, drove away 600 kyne, 100 garrons, burned 12 haggards of corn and slew divers husbandmen. Next we hear that Piers, brother of the Earl of Ormond, had plundered Lord Poer's lands, Edward those of the White Knight, Edmund and Edward those of Lord Dunboyne.

Sidney visited Munster in 1567, to enquire into and put a stop to the feuds between the Butlers and the Geraldines. On this visit he fell foul of Sir Edmund Butler, by trying to force him to give up the practice of Coyne and Livery. Sir Edmund, who was then seneschal of Tipperary in the absence of the Earl, complained afterwards that Sidney had made him ride up and down the country like a priest. His letters and recorded speeches show Edmund to have been of a fiery nature, little likely to rest quiet under wrongs fancied or real[1]. His brother Edward is described as "beyond reason incensed with overweening." We read of attacks by him in 1567 and 1568 on the O'Carrolls of Ely and the Mac-i-Briens of Ara, Gaelic families which maintained a somewhat precarious independence on lands claimed by the Ormond family. For once we have not to depend on officials for a description of the disorder with which they had to contend. Letters are extant from some of the victims of Edward's aggressions. In one, written in September, 1568, Mac-i-Brien complains "of the sonne of Mr. Edmond Butler[2]

[1] His brother, the Earl, wrote that he must have been bewitched, and there is an allusion to his "frantic humour" in the State Papers (July 1571). This might lead to the inference that he was not altogether sane.

[2] It is not clear which son of Sir Edmund is here meant.

English 10 Miles 20
Dublin
Louth
Meath
Kildare
Wicklow
Carlow
Kilkenny
Ossory
R. Nore
R. Suir
Cashel
Ormond
Cahir
Clonmel
Thurles
Earl of
Limerick
Fitz Gerald
Burke
O'Brien
O'More
O'Connor
O'Dempsey
O'Reilly
O'Farrell
O'Rourke
O'Brennan
Moghegan

and his brother Mr. Edward's evil behaviour and cruel dealing." With six hundred gunners and kerne, one hundred galloglass, sixty horsemen and three hundred slaves, knaves and boys, Edward had invaded Ara, carried off three hundred coffers that lay within two churches, to the value of five hundred pounds; and remaining during two days and two nights round these churches, his men ravished all the poor women, young and old, married and unmarried, who had fled into the said churches.

In November, More ny Carule (Carroll), wife of Mac-i-Brien, writing to her husband, tells of another raid on the ninth of the month, the carrying off of all the remaining live-stock and household goods of the country, the burning of eleven children in one house, the killing of his loving uncle, and, finally, suggests to Mac-i-Brien, then in Dublin, that he were better holding some farm in the English Pale, whereby he may lead a quieter life than to be thus alway and continually sustaining such outrageous extremity and cruel dealing undeserved.

Froude explains these raids on Mac-i-Brien by saying that he was a partisan of Sir Peter Carew, of whose quarrel with Sir Edmund I shall speak presently. But this does not seem likely.

In April, 1569, a Commission was sent from Dublin to enquire into the misdeeds of the brothers of the Earl of Ormond, and to hear the complaints of those who had suffered at their hands. The members of the Commission collected much evidence, and were themselves witnesses of the turbulent behaviour of the three brothers. Two followers of O'Carroll were slain almost in sight of the Commissioners by Edward and his men. Edmund, Edward and Piers made a fresh incursion into Ara on the very day that the Commissioners were expecting Edward to appear before them at Nenagh and justify his conduct. Next day came Mac-i-Brien with witnesses, and proved the spoiling, robbing of the churches, ravish-

ing, burning of children, and the killing of a kinsman. But the Commissioners remark that the spoils were in some things not of so great value as was alleged, and that as to the children the number burned was not as great as was contained in the complaint. At Loughmoe, where the Commissioners spent a night, Edward gave further proof of his quality by coming as if to go with the Commissioners to Dublin, but accompanied with a great number of kerne, " which pilfered and spoiled the poor people of the town, so as all night we had but howling and crying ; in the morning we sought the redress of it, which could not prevail."

From Edmund, who accompanied them to Carlow, the Commissioners got fair words ; and " the teares rowled in his eyes " as he expressed his wish to be reconciled with Sidney. Piers retired to his bed at Loughmoe, sore sick or so feigning himself, which prevented the Commissioners " training " him to Kilkenny, and arresting him there as they had intended. Edward accompanied them to the bog of Monelay, and then asked leave to go home. The Commissioners refused and charged him on his duty of allegiance to go with them. He had twelve horsemen, the Commissioners only two. So Edward went off unhindered ; and the Commissioners returned to the Deputy.

By June, Sir Edmund Butler was in open rebellion. A certain John Devawe was sent to reason with him, but effected nothing. Edward retired to the woods. Sir Edmund led Devawe up and down the country, and finally brought him to the castle of the Grallagh, the house of Piers Butler, brother of the tenth Baron of Dunboyne. Here Devawe saw the famous Geraldine leader, Sir James FitzMaurice Fitzgerald, who was already in rebellion. Beyond establishing that Sir Edmund and James FitzMaurice were acting in concert, and beyond hearing the grievances of the former, Devawe effected nothing.

Another mission sent to Sir Edmund, immediately after Devawe had made his report, met him returning from Imaal to Rathvilly with captives and prey taken from Talbotstown, not far from Dublin. Their efforts to persuade him that he might safely come to the presence of the Deputy, and their threats as to loss of land and the ruin of his house, as well as their intention of having him proclaimed as a rebel if he persisted in his ways, were unavailing. The Deputy's purpose in seeking him, he heard and had sufficient proof, was to chop off his head and his brethren's. No house, no land, no posterity or substance was as dear to him as his life. If he were proclaimed rebel, he would make their heads fly from their bodies that were causers of it. He would attend on the Deputy to serve in her Highness' wars, without wages, if the Deputy would grant protection and pardon to him, his brethren and his men. He accused Sir Peter Carew and Sir Barnaby Fitzpatrick as the instigators of Sidney's indignation against him. But to levy war or to fight in field against her Highness or her governor he would not during life.

From the reported speeches and the extant letters of Sir Edmund, it would seem that his conduct was almost altogether due to hostility to Sidney, and to the injustice with which he had been treated in the matter of his castle and lands of Cloughgrennan. This castle, situated close to Carlow, together with the district called the Dullough, had been left to Sir Edmund by his father. The latter had acquired it from the Mac Murrough Cavanaghs, either by purchase or by force. Now appeared a certain Sir Peter Carew, a Devonshire gentleman, who claimed all Idrone, of which the Dullough was a part, by virtue of his descent from certain Carews who admittedly had held Idrone until expelled by the Cavanaghs sometime in the fourteenth century. Sir Peter's claims were upheld. The decision was given in December, 1568; and, though Cloughgrennan still remained in Edmund's

hands, Carew had established himself in that part of Idrone east of the Barrow immediately afterwards.

His pretensions went much farther than to Idrone. His ancestors had been seized of the moiety of the "Kingdom of Cork," granted by Henry II. to Robert Fitz Stephen; and to this vast inheritance Sir Peter now put forward a claim. The lands in question were actually held by the Earl of Desmond, the Mac Carthys and other families; and the revival of a title which had lain dormant and unsuspected for nearly two centuries provoked a general combination against the Government, and united for a moment the rival families which shared the greater part of Munster between them—the Butlers, the O'Briens, the Fitzgeralds and the Mac Carthys. At the head of the movement stood a cousin of the Earl of Desmond, Sir James FitzMaurice Fitzgerald.

Unlike Sir Edmund Butler, Sir James FitzMaurice appears from his letters and the testimony of contemporaries not to have been moved by personal wrongs. He was a serious upholder of the Catholic religion, and worked for the liberty of the Church and for the destruction of the English power in Ireland, in so far as it stood in the way of that liberty. The pretensions of Carew, by alarming all the great Munster landowners, gave him the chance of combining families lukewarm in religious matters and more jealous of one another than of the English Government. A mission was despatched to seek help from Spain; the appeal, signed by many prelates and noblemen, was carried by Maurice Reagh Mac Gibbon, Archbishop of Cashel. The Earl of Desmond was in prison in England, and James FitzMaurice governed his lands in his stead. The adhesion of Sir Edmund and that of his brothers, Edward and Piers, to the confederacy caused the insurrection to be known as "the Butlers' wars." Of the various branches of the Butler family only the Lord of Cahir and the young Baron of Dunboyne are said to have remained loyal to the Crown.

The chronology of all this period is very confused ; and Sidney, writing long afterwards, seems to have purposely obscured the order of events.[1] Froude gives a picturesque account of the aims of Sir Peter Carew and his associates, and of the insurrection which followed, but pays no attention to the order of events, and adds to the confusion by continually mixing up Sir Edmund and his brother Edward. It seems clear that Sir Edmund was already in touch with Sir James FitzMaurice in June, 1569, and by the end of the month was in open rebellion. In the last days of June he plundered Leix. Sidney, who hated the Ormond family, describes him as " killing very many of the inhabitants of the same, but most especially all the Englishmen ; and for more despite of the nation he would cause English dead men's bodies to be stripped out of their English garments, and their hose and doubletts (being stuffed and trussed) he would set up as marks for his kernes to throw their darts at."

While Sir Edmund was ravaging Leix, Carew appeared before the castle of Cloughgrennan, " having in it," as the Earl of Ormond puts it, " eight men, and won it, and put them to the sword, and also did execution upon all the women and children that were in the house, and among them was an honest gentleman's son in the house not three years old that was also murdered." Hooker, the biographer of Carew, tells with complacency of the gross piece of treachery by which entrance to the castle was effected. About the same time Carew fell on an armed force four hundred strong at Kilmokary close to Kilkenny, and slew four score of them. They were rebel followers of Sir Edmund, said Carew. They were the Butler galloglasses, said the Earl of Ormond, who seems to imply that they were gathered without any disloyal intent.

In mid-July a force, said to number 1,400 galloglasses,

[1] The best account of this portion of Sir Edmund's career is to be found in an article by the Rev. James Hughes, " Sir Edmund Butler of the Dullough, Knight," in the *Kilkenny Archaeological Journal*, 1870-71.

400 " armed picks " (pikemen ?) " with shurts of mayle," 400 gunners, and at least 1,500 kern and horsemen, besides 800 men under Mac Carthy Mór whose arms are not specified, encamped before Kilkenny. With proper leadership and discipline such a force, which far outnumbered any that the Crown could put in the field, might have swept the Government forces into the sea. But Sidney, with a small and well-armed force, was able to move through the open country at will, hampered only by occasional resistance from behind the walls of some castle.

The confederates did not attempt to attack Kilkenny. Mac Carthy Mór went off on his own account in search of victuals. Finally want of supplies led to the dispersal of the blockading force.

Sidney on his arrival at Kilkenny found that city free from danger, and marched into Tipperary. The enemy retreated before him, burning their own houses and villages; but proclaiming by " libells and chartells " thrown into his camp that they intended to fight him. The people of Clonmel were good and loyal; but the corporation of Waterford refused to send out the civic forces, although some private citizens came to the camp very well appointed. As for the gentry of Tipperary, they answered commissioners sent out by Sidney to win them from their " furious unnatural and traiterous action ": " We are of this countie more ancient inhabiters and freeholders then any Butler is, and were the first conquerors of the soyle from the Irishrie." But England had given them away to a Butler, and created him Earl of Ormond, and made him by letters patent Lord of the Liberty of the County of Tipperary as a County Palatine. " And thus have we and our auncestors acknowledged him as our lord and captain, and indeede know no other sovereign but him, whose lieutenant Sir Edmond Butler, his brother and heir apparent, is; him we follow, and him we will follow, and do as he commandeth us." This was all Sidney could get of them.

He then broke up his camp and set out to fight his way to Cork. The insurgents in Tipperary offered no opposition, and he passed on, wasting and spoiling on his way, to the city of Cork. This move left Tipperary, Kilkenny and the adjoining districts at the mercy of the insurgents.

Piers Butler had plundered Callan in July; and Sir Edmund, early in August, raided the Fitzpatricks of Upper Ossory. Next Piers burned seventy houses in the town of Leighlin Bridge, killed nine men, and burned four young children. Next the brothers swooped down on the fair held at Enniscorthy on August 15th. According to Sidney "the most of the merchants of Wexford" suffered either in their own persons, their wives or their servants. "The horrible rapes, the shameful murders, with the totall rapyne of all the goods that could be carried away were too loathsome to be written or read." Official rhetoric, no doubt, but we find Edmund excusing himself to his brother the Earl, saying that what was done at Enniscorthy was done "unknowing to him." By the end of the month the ravages of the Butlers had extended to the neighbourhood of Ferns and Arklow.

But the Earl of Ormond, sent over in haste from England, had landed at Rosslare on August 14th. On September 1st he met Edmund, Edward and Piers near Kilkenny. They had already been in correspondence with him. Their revolt, they asserted, had been due to personal grievances. Edmund had, as I have said, an old grudge against Sidney. Threats were asserted to have been uttered by Sidney, such as "that he would sit on his skirts" *i.e.*, Sir Edmund's, and "that he would make his heart strings ache," threats which Sidney denied. Then the brothers had heard that Leicester was to marry the Queen, and that Sidney was to be king of Ireland. A rumour had even got about that the Queen had been poisoned, and Ormond put into the Tower and there put to death.

Sir Edmund could die to be revenged on Carew, and

would fight to the death to preserve his lands; but he would not meddle with the bringing in of Spaniards or with the setting up of the Mass. Devawe had previously reported that "as for religion he said he was neither Papist nor Protestant, but as the Queen was." Sidney, however, a few months afterwards speaks of "his inclination to superstition" and of a report that "he had made an offering to the holy cross since his escape." He also accused him of having connived at the escape of the "Romish" Bishop of Cashel, whom he had been ordered to apprehend, and of having spoiled "the right Bishop and turned him clean out of his livings."

Ormond finally induced Sir Edmund and Piers to come with him to Dublin. In spite of a safe conduct both were imprisoned. Sometime between October 16th and October 25th Sir Edmund escaped by means of a rope. The rope broke, and Edmund lay all night in the water of the Castle moat. By the aid of some of the O'Byrnes, amongst them Feagh Mac Hugh, then a young man, he got away to the Wicklow hills and thence to Co. Kilkenny. "More mischief hath he done, and procured to be done, than ever rebel in memory of man did in Ireland," wrote Sidney. From this time probably dates the close connection between Edmund and the O'Byrnes, which becomes noticeable in later years.

Piers had been let out on bail soon after his arrival in Dublin. In the meantime the ill-assorted confederacy between the rival Munster families was falling to pieces. Mac Carthy Mór submitted in December. By February 1570 Sir Edmund and Piers had come to Ormond at Kilkenny; and at the end of that month again accompanied him to Dublin, where they were placed in custody until the Queen's pleasure might be known. Edward was still in rebellion, and Sidney hoped that Ormond might bring in his head.

"That blessed babe Edward," as Sidney calls him, is heard of in Thomond in rebellion as late as July 1570.

He at last submitted, and offered to serve against James Fitz Maurice. But this did not prevent him from setting at liberty two friars whom Miler Magrath, the Elizabethan Archbishop of Cashel, had imprisoned; and he warned Miler that unpleasant consequences would follow on any more such displays of zeal.

Parliament in 1570 passed an Act attainting as "vile and ingrate traitors" all the principal actors in the late rebellion, including Sir Edmund, Edward and Piers Butler. Largely, no doubt, by Ormond's influence, his three brothers were pardoned by the Queen in 1573 and restored to their property, Cloughgrennan apparently being left to Sir Edmund. The attainder of their blood, however, was not reversed, a fact which had important consequences a quarter of a century later. Henceforth Piers seems to drop out of history, though he was alive in 1601.

Edmund and Edward appear as zealous loyalists in the final campaigns against James Fitz Maurice. When Perrott challenged Fitz Maurice, first to single combat, then to a contest of twelve horse and twelve foot to a side, he picked Edward as one of his side.[1] In the great Desmond rebellion of 1579-83, Edmund and Edward were prominent in action against the Geraldines. They commanded the forces of Tipperary, at the ford of Knockgraffon, where the Earl of Desmond for the last time saw victory shine on his banners.

For about twelve years after the suppression of the Desmond rebellion, Munster was more or less at peace. Then, with the commencement of hostilities between the Ulster Lords and the Crown, new troubles arose in Tipperary and Kilkenny. Already, far back in 1580, it is recorded in the Carew MSS. that "a base son to Sir Edmund Butler with one hundred swords is now gone to the traitor Baltinglas." This was during the Desmond

[1] Sir Edmund had previously challenged Carew to fight, five aside; or else he would fight Carew, Sir Barnaby FitzPatrick, O'Carroll, Cosby and Gilbert one after another.

rebellion, and Viscount Baltinglas was in close touch with the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles of the Wicklow hills. It will be remembered that, about ten years before, Edmund had been sheltered among the O'Byrnes.

Now, early in 1596, we hear that the sons of Sir Edmund Butler were discontented at not being restored in blood. Their uncle the Earl would not or could not help them, so they began to turn towards the Earl of Tyrone, hoping by his aid to secure the restitution of their blood and succession to the earldom. Piers, the eldest son, married the daughter of his cousin, Lord Mountgarret; James was reported to be engaged to a daughter of Rory O'More.[1] Next we hear of both of them as being in rebellion, and as being determined to burn all they can. James "very treacherously" hanged six of Parkin's company. The brothers joined the O'Mores in rebellion. They helped Feagh Mac Hugh O'Byrne to recover his stronghold of Ballinacor at the entrance to Glenmalure, which had been captured by the English. In October 1596, Sir Edmund and his wife were apprehended and were to be brought to Dublin.

The insurrection in Leinster followed the usual course. At first there were successes of the insurgents; they plundered and burned the property of all who did not join them. Then the Government took matters seriously in hand; and in November we hear of the dispersal of Feagh Mac Hugh and "his rabble" and of the followers of Sir Edmund Butler's sons. In December it was reported that Sir Edmund's sons intended to put themselves into poor men's weeds and steal away to the north. In January, 1597, Piers was reported to be in the Briskelagh and the Dullogh, on the confines of Carlow, Wexford and Kilkenny. The Government made a truce with the northern leaders O'Neill and O'Donnell but maintained that Pheagh Mac Hugh and his followers

[1] From the pedigree in Lodge it would appear that Piers' wife must have been a natural daughter of Lord Mountgarret.

were not included in it. The protests of Hugh O'Neill were in vain. The Deputy, Russell, marched in force into Wicklow. A diary of his campaign gives a ghastly tale of killings, of heads brought to his camp, of captures, and of the hanging of captives. A few days after Easter, 1597, Captain Lee sent in James Butler's head. He is described as "a notorious traitor." Piers had gone south-westward and was trying to steal into the North by the banks of the Shannon. He was captured, together with a base son of Lord Mountgarret's named Walter, and by the orders of the Earl of Ormond was hanged at Thurles. He was "a most notorious and dangerous traitor"; he "would confess nothing, but died desperately as he had lived." His uncle brought his head to Dublin.

Curiously enough the authorities in Dublin were by no means pleased with the summary execution of Piers. The State Papers throw light on a curious feature of the English character. Not the loyalty of Earl Thomas, his services in the field against the Queen's enemies, his unceasing toils in the Government, not even the personal favour of Elizabeth herself, counted with the English-born officials in Dublin when compared with what seemed to them to be the interest of England. And that it would be to the interest of England to bring to the Crown the vast possessions of the house of Ormond, its claims to territories actually held by Irish clans, the feudal superiority over Kilkenny, the Butlership of Ireland with its valuable perquisite the prisage of wines, and to extinguish the palatinate jurisdiction over Tipperary, must have appeared self-evident to the official mind. Now the attainder in blood of Sir Edmund had never been reversed; but, in some mysterious manner, the record of that attainder had been "embezzled" and could not be found. The Earl of Ormond had no surviving sons. If Piers had been kept alive for trial and attainder, and after attainder had been kept alive until his uncle and his

father were both dead, then without question the Queen would have had both the earldom with its immense possessions, and the not inconsiderable estate of Sir Edmund himself.

All this it seemed was already recognised at Kilkenny; hence the zeal shown by the Earl in giving such short shrift to his nephew Piers. There remained a third son of Sir Edmund, Theobald, who had been arrested and sent to Dublin when his brothers had entered on their disorderly courses, he being then a scholar with the Bishop of Ossory. After the death of his brothers, his uncle the Earl desired to carry him to Kilkenny to try him there; and had actually started on the journey with him, when the Council were suddenly persuaded by Sir Henry Wallop that Theobald was more valuable to them alive than dead; for if the Earl could put him out of the way, the succession to the Ormond title and estates would pass to Walter, son of John of Kilcash, who had never been attainted. This it was said, and probably with truth, was what the Earl was aiming at. Messengers were dispatched from Dublin who overtook the Earl at Naas, and brought Theobald back to the comparative safety of Dublin Castle, where he was kept a close prisoner for the next three or four years. It was the intention of the Government to arraign him, and on conviction to attaint him, and to keep him alive until both the Earl and Sir Edmund were dead. Thus the claim of Walter Fitz John would be effectually barred. It does not appear that there was any real ground for the conviction of Theobald; at least he does not seem to have been brought to trial.

Thus plot and counterplot went on; the Earl being bent on preserving the Butler lands and titles, the officials in Dublin designing to bring them to the Crown on the death of the Earl. Then the Earl suddenly changed his policy. Instead of removing Theobald, he proposed to secure his release and to marry him to his only

surviving child, his daughter Elizabeth. Sir Edmund may have been sickening for his death about this time; at any rate he seems to have died some time in 1601; and once he was dead the fact that the record of his attainder had disappeared, and that no proceedings had been taken against Theobald, gave the Earl hopes that he could secure from the Crown the peaceful devolution of his lands and honours to his daughter and to his nephew. This he was at last able to bring about; but only after much trouble and delay.

In 1600 he petitioned for Theobald's release; but Fenton and Carew were against it, still hoping that Theobald might be made use of to stop the descent of the Earldom.[1] The influence of the Earl and the danger of strife among the Butlers, then the chief bulwark of the Crown, if the succession was not settled, brought about Theobald's release in 1602 and his marriage to the Earl's daughter in the following year.

Theobald was created Viscount Tulleophelim. He died without offspring in 1613, a year before his father-in-law, with whom in his later years he had been on such bad terms that King James had been impelled to intervene in order to reconcile the Viscount and his wife to the favour and good opinion of the Earl.

Earl Thomas died, old and blind, in 1614, having long outlived his younger brothers; and his nephew Walter FitzJohn, a stout soldier, known as Earl Walter of the Beads and Rosaries, took his place as Earl of Ormond. As to the lands they were the subject of a controversy too long to relate here.

W. F. Butler.

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[1] Fenton wrote advising Cecil to secure the Chief Butlership, stating that the prisage of wine attached to it was of great value. Cal. State Papers 1597, p. 323

THE POSSIBILITIES OF CO-PARTNERSHIP

BY HENRY SOMERVILLE, M.A.

IN a previous number of this review[1] the present writer has offered a suggestion towards "an alternative to capitalism." Such distinguished scholars as Rev. John A. Ryan, Mr. Hilaire Belloc, the Reverend John Kelleher, Professor George O'Brien and the Rev. Joseph E. Canavan, S.J., expressed valued criticisms on that suggestion. These criticisms were favourable enough to warrant further study of the subject. The present article is not intended as a development of the specific proposal put forward as an alternative to capitalism; but it will examine the somewhat similar ideals and methods of the system known as co-partnership.

Co-partnership is a well-known word; the facts about co-partnership are singularly little known, though they are easily accessible. One continually reads letters in the press recommending co-partnership as the solution of industrial problems, and very many of the advocates seem to hail co-partnership as a new hope on the horizon. They appear not to know that co-partnership has a history. The news that the Mond Nickel Company or the P. and O. Company, under such typical capitalistic magnates as Sir Alfred Mond and Lord Inchcape, have initiated schemes for giving their employees a share in profits is announced as if it heralded a new era in industrial relationships. During recent months there has been much interesting correspondence in *The Times* on attempts to create a new spirit in industry. Much information has been given of co-operative and welfare experiments, but when the present writer went through

[1] *Studies*, Dec., 1925.

a file of *The Times* to see how much was new in the correspondence he found practically nothing at all.

The facts about co-partnership, as already said, are easily accessible.[1] The British Government periodically publish detailed reports on profit-sharing and co-partnership schemes in operation. It is perhaps because the reports are so detailed that they are so little read. There are some 240 schemes in existence. No two schemes are exactly alike. The official reports particularise on individual schemes. Not unnaturally this scares away the ordinary reader, who feels he has no time for the study of the minutiae of 240 schemes.

Avoiding the vice of over-informativeness we may remark that a profit-sharing scheme was started in England in 1829, the year of Catholic Emancipation! Six schemes were started in the year 1865, and more new schemes have come into being practically every year since then. The Labour Co-Partnership Association, which still carries on active propaganda in England, was founded as long ago as 1884. Co-partnership may thus claim the attention due to antiquity rather than to novelty.

Profit-sharing was defined, at an International Congress on Profit-Sharing held in Paris in 1889, as an agreement by which the employee receives a share, *fixed in advance*, of the profits of the business in which he is employed. The Congress gave the following explanations of its definition :—

> By a "share" in profits is meant a sum paid to an employee, in addition to his wages, out of the profits, the amount of which is dependent on the amount of these profits. If an employer undertakes, for example, to contribute to a pension fund £1 for every £2 contributed by his workmen, this is not a case of profit-sharing, unless the undertaking is to pay out of profits only, because the sum payable under the agreement does not depend on the year's profits.

[1] Report on Profit-Sharing and Co-Partnership in the United Kingdom, 1920, Command Paper, 544 (H.M. Stationery Office, one shilling). Survey of Industrial Relations, 1926 (H.M. Stationery Office, 5 shillings).

The payment of bonus on output, premiums proportionate to savings effected in production, commission on sales, and other systems under which the amount of the bonus depends on the quality or the amount of the output or volume of business, irrespective of the rate of profit earned, do not constitute profit-sharing.

The share must be fixed in advance, but it is not necessary that the employees shall know all the details of the basis upon which the amount of their share is fixed. Thus, an employer may agree to give to his employees one-half of all his profits in excess of a certain "reserved limit"; that limit being communicated only to an accountant, who certifies what is due to the employees; this would be a case of profit-sharing. The important thing is that the share should not be indeterminate; for example, if the employer at the end of the year determines whether he shall give one-tenth or one-fifth, or some other fraction of his profits to his employees, at his absolute discretion, and not upon any pre-arranged basis, this is not profit-sharing.

The participants under a profit-sharing scheme must include a substantial proportion of the ordinary employees; a scheme limited to managers, foremen and leading hands, or to any such class of employees, is not an example of profit-sharing.

This definition is held to cover "deposit schemes." The firm opens a savings bank in which employees can place their money. A minimum rate of interest is guaranteed, and a higher rate is paid if the profits of the firm rise in a certain proportion. The definition also covers schemes in which shares in a business are issued free or at specially low prices to the employees and these shares bear dividends out of the profits of the business.

Co-partnership means that the workers have some share in the capital and control of a business as well as in the profits. The definition of co-partnership given by the Labour Co-Partnership Association is as follows:—

Co-partnership claims for all the workers that they shall share to some extent in the profits, capital and control of the business in which they are employed. This may be stated more fully:

(i) That the worker shall receive, in addition to the standard wages of the trade, some share in the final profit of the business or the economy of production.

(ii) That the worker shall accumulate his share of profit, or part thereof, in the capital of the business employing him.

(iii) That the worker shall acquire some share in the control of the business in one or both the following two ways :—

(*a*) By acquiring share capital, and thus gaining the ordinary rights and responsibilities of a shareholder.

(*b*) By the formation of a Co-Partnership Committee of workers, having a voice in the internal management.

Profit-sharing and co-partnership being thus explained, the arguments in their favour are easily apparent. Their narrowest appeal is to the self-interest of employers and employed. It is related that a factory owner once said to Robert Owen : " If my men liked they could save me £10,000 a year by better work and the avoidance of waste." Owen replied : " Then why don't you pay them £5,000 a year to do it." The assumption is that workers receiving only a fixed wage are less careful of the time and property of their employer than they might be, and that by giving them an interest in the profits of the business they exert themselves to increase output and reduce costs.

The wider appeal of co-partnership is that it harmonises the interests of capital and labour. It gives the workers a sense of proprietorship in the business which they serve. It ensures to them a share in any prosperity which comes from general causes, and especially it gives them a share in the fruit of their own increased industry and economy. The separation of interest between the owner of capital and the wage-worker gives place to a union, and the risk of disputes leading to strikes and lock-outs is rendered remote.

Profit-sharing and co-partnership are so simple, so evidently equitable, and their promises of all-round benefit seem so well assured that they seldom fail to make a good first impression on those who desire social reform. We may congratulate ourselves that we can examine them to-day not only with the flickering taper-light of theory but in the broad daylight of experience.

They have been tested and tried on a considerable scale for fifty years. There are records of 463 schemes started in these islands since 1876. There are about 240 schemes existing at the present day. The total number of work-people eligible to participate in the benefits of these schemes is 172,000. This is less than one per cent. of the occupied population of Great Britain. About half the schemes started in the last fifty years have come to an end. There is no need to debate how many of these cessations can rightly be described as failures. Many of the cessations imply no reflection on the merits of profit-sharing and co-partnership. But if after fifty years of widespread trial and enthusiastic and influential propaganda a system does not cover one per cent. of the industrial field, we cannot help feeling some scepticism about it.

One test we can apply is the amount of profit that has actually gone to the workers. The Ministry of Labour has the necessary particulars for the test to be applied to 174 schemes in the year 1924. The average amount of profit paid or credited to each worker participating was £8 3s. 2d., equal to 4.9 per cent. of the workers' earnings. The average for the whole period 1901-24 was equivalent to an addition of 5.2 per cent. to earnings. These averages include schemes where no profit went to the workers. On the other hand the great confectionery firm of Messrs. Clarke, Nickolls and Coombs has often added profits equivalent to 20 per cent. of the earnings of its workers. Averages have always to be taken with caution; but it can fairly be said that profit-sharing and co-partnership, even in the fields most favourable to them, have been able to make only an average addition of five per cent. to the earnings of labour. Five per cent. on earnings is no doubt very well worth having; but is the uncertain prospect of such a modest reward sufficient to induce any great change in the mentality or the efforts of the

ordinary working-man? The reader may be left to answer this question from his own experience.

It may be well to quote some typical experiences of profit-sharing firms in their own words. Mr. D. Milne Watson, Governor of the Gas, Light and Coke Company, writing in 1919:—

> We are satisfied that the working of our Co-partnership scheme has tended to produce better working relations between the Company and its employees, and has united the interests of the Co-partners and the shareholders. When I tell you that our scheme only came into operation in 1909, and at the present time there are 8,680 co-partners, holding £183,000 in stock, and having £103,000 deposited with the Company, for which they are paid interest, you will realise that considerable progress has been made and such a large holding must give the workmen an increased interest in their work.
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> I do not say, of course, that Co-partnership is a panacea for all troubles, but there is not the slightest doubt, from our experience, that Co-partnership brings about a better understanding between Capital and Labour, and if more generally adopted would go a long way towards overcoming some of the industrial difficulties of the time.[1]

Mr. Joseph H. Fox, of Messrs. Fox Brothers, woollen manufacturers, speaking in 1881 on a scheme which had been in existence in his firm since 1866:—

> It is very difficult to form an opinion as to the effects produced on the carefulness and attention of the workpeople, and whether in this sense the scheme has answered. I believe it has in the case of many foremen and others in positions of trust; but these have had, it must be remembered, an additional stimulus from their being partly paid in accordance with results. But with the ordinary workpeople there is not so much scope for their showing interest, and as they nearly all work by the piece, it can produce but little effect on their industry. There are, of course, many ways by which economies can be effected—by the saving of material, by care of machinery, and in other ways, but it is very difficult to form an opinion as to the results of the scheme in this important respect. It must be borne in mind that in a manufacturing business the skill and judgment in the purchase of the raw material

[1] Report on Profit-Sharing, p. 61.

and the sale of the goods are important factors, and that when a large amount of raw material is worked up, and when stocks both of raw material and of manufactured goods are necessarily heavy, and when there is a constant fluctuation of prices, the apparent profits are much affected by these fluctuations. These matters are, of course, outside the workpeople, and they feel their exertions may be in part neutralised by other causes not under their control, and this operates prejudicially on the working of the scheme. Could they clearly see cause and effect and directly trace the effects of their increased watchfulness on the prosperity of the business, then their participation in the profits would have more definite results.[1]

In 1912 Mr. Fox stated that the experience of the intervening years had not caused any material change in his views. In 1919 the secretary of the company said the scheme continued to give satisfaction.

The Ministry of Labour, having carefully collected and sifted the evidence from those with experience of profit-sharing, expresses its conclusions as follows :—

> A majority of the employers who have made returns express satisfaction with the results of their schemes ; but an appreciable minority express some measure of disappointment. Among the commonest complaints are that the stimulus which the scheme was intended to give reached only a minority of the employees ; or that the stimulus which it gave at its first inception wore off as time went on ; or that the employees came to look on the bonus as a matter of course, when it comes, while in bad years, when it is not forthcoming, there is great discontent . . . . . On the whole, it must be concluded that, if the employer looks to a scheme of Profit-sharing to stimulate his workpeople to increased exertion, *and to maintain the stimulus for a long period of years*, he is not unlikely to be disappointed.[2]

In industries where wages costs are very high in proportion to the amount of capital employed, a very drastic reduction of profits would make only a very small addition to wages. For instance, profits in the British coalmining industry during the four years, 1922-25, have been only one-twelfth of wages. If half the

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 64. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 27.

profits had been added to wages the increase in wages would have been less than five per cent.

So far we have been considering the profit-sharing element, not the sharing of capital and control which constitutes co-partnership. There is really very little sharing of capital and control. "The proportion of votes which might be given at a shareholders' meeting by the employees, in virtue of shares held by them, is almost negligible in all but a very small number of cases."[1] In any case, the ordinary shareholders' meeting is not an occasion which is suited either to the education of the employees in the problems of management or to the consultation of the management with the employees. Much more valuable results are obtained when there are special annual meetings of the employees. Some firms have employee representatives on the Board of Directors, and though they are always in a minority they have proved their worth. A more common, and very important, feature is that a large number of profit-sharing firms have Co-Partnership Committees, which are primarily set up to administer the profit-sharing scheme, but which also generally have other duties, such as supervising the working of pensions schemes, provident clubs, and the like, or suggesting improvements in "welfare" work, or in details of factory management. "In fact, it would appear," says the *Report on Profit-Sharing*, "that those Committees have been most successful upon which the greatest amount of responsibility has been placed."[2]

The recently-expressed conclusions of the Ministry of Labour may be quoted :—

> . . . This is in accordance with the view which has more recently been expressed by certain employers in whose business profit-sharing or co-partnership schemes are in operation. This view is that the monetary aspect of the scheme is not its most important aspect, but that its value is rather to be found in its position as a

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 25. [2] page 26.

part of a whole system of arrangements for interesting the employees, and in giving an opportunity for the presentation to the employees at frequent intervals of detailed statements as to the progress of the business and as to its financial position. According to this view, profit-sharing is rather a mode of creating harmony throughout the works than a direct stimulus to effort.[1]

Trade unions have generally, but not quite universally, been hostile to profit-sharing and co-partnership. They have feared that the schemes would break the trade solidarity of the workers and promote the sectionalism of the workers in the different undertakings by which they were employed. It was feared the workers would tend to think less of the standard wage which the trade union secured, and more of the share of profit which they obtained from their particular firm. These fears are not well founded, for under profit-sharing schemes it is always to the interest of the workers to get the highest wage possible, and therefore they will always have need for their trade unions. This very fact, that the workers' primary interest is in wages, is the reason why profit-sharing cannot ensure full harmony between the interests of labour and capital.

Something more than profit sharing is necessary to secure industrial peace and to promote a spirit of willing service in industry. Nor can much be expected from co-partnership as long as the sphere of workers' control is so closely restricted as it is in nearly all existing schemes. It is worth while underlining the declared judgment in the Government Report *that those Co-Partnership Committees have been most successful upon which the greatest amount of responsibility has been placed.*

In a previous article by the present writer already referred to[2] it has been urged that the relationship of labour and capital should not be that of profit-sharing or co-partnership, but that labour should be the employer and capital the employed, that labour should have the

[1] *Survey of Industrial Relations*, p. 332.

[2] *Studies*, Dec., 1925.

entire or at least the predominant control of industry, and that capital, instead of claiming indefinite profits, should be remunerated at a fixed rate. Dr. John A. Ryan has pointed out that a scheme on the lines I advocated is successfully in operation at the Framlingham works in Massachusetts. It is also operating very successfully in the firm of William Thompson and Sons, Ltd., woollen and worsted manufacturers, Huddersfield. William Thompson, a friend and follower of John Ruskin, converted his business into a co-operative society and handed it over to his employees. It was paid for partly in shares, partly in loan stock, both shares and stock carrying interest not exceeding five per cent. There were definite arrangements as to provisions for depreciation and reserves. Mr. Thompson was appointed manager for life, with power to appoint his successor subject to confirmation by a general meeting. Mr. Thompson carried on until 1917 when Mr. F. C. Langley succeeded him as manager. The society started with a capital of just under £20,000. It now has a capital of £55,000. Up to 1920, when the *Report on Profit-Sharing* was published, the society had existed for 35 years. The profits realised varied greatly in different years ; but the shareholders received their five per cent. interest all through, the workers, when necessary, making good any deficiency in profits out of their wages so that the shareholders could be paid. The average net addition to wages enjoyed by the workers during the thirty-five years has been equivalent to 6 per cent. The firm had a 48-hour week when 56½ hours were usual in the trade ; it had time wages instead of the more usual piece wages ; and it has not employed married women. Women who have left employment to get married have received dowries of from £5 to £10 if their service had not been less than five years. In short, the firm has been a conspicuous example of the success of non-capitalistic production.

It might be argued that the almost autocratic powers conferred upon the manager destroy its claim to be regarded as an example of workers' control. But in urging control by labour instead of control by capital one means control in the interests of labour rather than in the interests of capital. Labour means the brain-workers as well as the hand-workers. Labour control means that the management is ultimately responsible to the workers rather than to the shareholders. The workers may conceivably delegate their powers to managers and directors with as little restriction as share-holders do to-day. This being so, there might be considerable centralisation of executive power. It may be suggested that the deprivation of the capitalist, *qua* capitalist, of the control of industry and of his right to surplus profit, should be considered apart from the question of how the workers could or should exercise control. This is a problem of constitution-making such as we meet with in politics. If we were accustomed only to political absolutism and had never known a democratic State in being, we should be very puzzled to imagine how the ideal of self-government could be translated into practice. Those who rightly appreciated the possibilities of the democratic idea might feel it necessary to proceed very tentatively in practical details. So it is with that "alternative to capitalism" which is broadly described by saying that labour becomes the employer and capital the employed. Capital is privately owned, but capitalists become debenture holders rather than shareholders, creditors rather than pro-prietors of industrial concerns. The control of industry is in the hands of the workers by hand and by brain organised in what may be called guilds. Belief in the feasibility of such a system is rather confirmed by a study of past and present schemes of co-operation, profit-sharing and co-partnership.

H. Somerville.

CHRONICLE

I—The "Acta Sanctorum" and Three Irish Saints

BY JOHN MAC ERLEAN, S.J.

LAST year (1925) there was published at Brussels by the Bollandists, Fathers H. Delehaye and P. Peeters, S.J., another volume of the *Acta Sanctorum*, the fourth volume dealing with the month of November, and containing the lives of those saints whose festivals fall on the ninth and tenth days of that month. Fifteen years had passed since the appearance of the preceding volume. The delay was due to the world-war and the occupation of Belgian territory, which made it impossible to consult manuscripts in libraries of other countries. Even when the war was over, the general poverty would have stopped the publication, had not the trustees of the Belgian Universities' fund raised in the United States come to the relief and defrayed the costs.

It is quite unnecessary to say that the profound learning and the critical acumen which we associate with the name of Bollandist are to be found on every page of this as of previous volumes, but it is well to call attention to a new departure, which will be a great help to all those who engage in Irish studies. For the first time the Acts of Irish and Oriental saints are published not merely in Latin translations, but in the original language of the Acts. This volume therefore contains a large number of original texts in the Irish, Arabic, Coptic, Armenian, Ethiopian Georgian, and Syriac languages. The space devoted to Celtic saints is about a hundred folio pages. Twenty-six Irish saints are treated of in these two days. Of most of these very little is known, but instead of being put among the Prætermissi, all available information is collected briefly and discussed. The text of the Martyrology of Donegal has been critically revised according to O'Clery's manuscripts in Brussels. The laborious work of editing and annotating the Celtic part of the work was assigned to a young Belgian Jesuit, Paul Grosjean, who under the direction of his masters, Dr. C. Plummer and Prof. J. Fraser, of Oxford University, has executed his task in a way that gives promise of a brilliant future. Of the above-mentioned 26 Irish Saints, lives of three only (Saints Benignus, Grellan, and Ædh Mac Bric) are extant; and about these a few words may be said here.

ST. BENIGNUS OF ARMAGH ✝ 9 NOV. 467.

The Irish Life of St. Benignus is preserved in the Royal Library, Brussels (4190-4200 ff. 210r–219r). The manuscript is

a unique copy made by Michael O Cleirigh at Drobhaois 7 Martii 1629, from a MS written by Giolla Glas ua Huiginn in 1471. The materials of the Life are derived from the ordinary sources—genealogies, lives of St. Patrick of the Tripartite family, and local traditions. In his commentaries on this Life, P. Grosjean tries with some success to distinguish St. Benignus of Armagh from other saints of the same name, and to establish his chronology. He places his birth about 426, and his death in 467. He maintains that St. Benignus was the immediate successor of St. Patrick on the latter's death in 461. This includes of course the rejection of the claims of Secundinus and Patricius Senior to be considered Archbishops of Armagh, the erroneous inclusion of whose names in the Armagh lists he explains in the same way as Lawlor and Best. He thinks it probable that Mathonus (cf. L. Arm. 12 b a) was the original name of Benignus, and that he was the priest, *quem ego ex infantia docui*, who was the bearer of St. Patrick's letter to Coroticus in 459, in which year consequently he would not yet have been a bishop.

The author of the Irish Life utilized a Life of St. Patrick, seemingly the Tripartite. He was not content however to extract those passages where Benignus is mentioned by name, but on the strength of Benignus being the companion of St. Patrick he adds the name of Benignus in passages where the original did not contain it. In this way St. Benignus is represented as evangelizing the counties of Clare, Limerick and Kerry, and thus establishing the Archbishop of Armagh's right of Great Visitation in those districts. Such a procedure may afford a clue to the time when this Life was first compiled, but adds little to our information. There is however one passage, consisting of two chapters (10 and 11), which is decidedly of importance. The compiler of the Gaelic Life, confusing Benignus of Armagh with his namesake of Tuam, has by a lucky chance given us a hitherto unknown account of the work of St. Patrick in a portion of Connacht. It is written in the style of the Tripartite, and deals with St. Patrick's evangelization of the district between Tuam and Headford in the county of Galway, the foundation of Domhnach Mór Muighe Siuil (Donaghpatrick), Cell Fhabhuir (Killower), Cell Binen (Kilbannon), and the healing of the lepers at Tobar na lobhar (Tobernalour). The MS text gives first the original Latin sentence, and then adds its translation into Irish sentence by sentence, with occasional additions. This is a valuable accession to our knowledge.

St. Grellan ✠ 10 Nov. (year unknown).

The existence of an Irish Life of St. Grellan has long been known from the extracts given from it by J. O'Donovan in his

edition of the *Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many* (1843). Now the Bollandists have supplied us with the first edition of the full text from all known manuscripts and editions. It is edited from the Brussels MS 4190-4200 ff. 88-91 copied by Michael O'Clery at Drobhaois, 12 Feb. 1629, collated with R.I.A. 23. O. 41 pp. 236–40, copied by James Maguire, 10 Jan. 1720, and the fragment published by O'Donovan l.c. pp. 8-14. The language is of the 14th or 15th century, but the Life as a Life is not worth much. Starting with excerpts from the Genealogies, it brings the Saint as a young boy into connection with St. Patrick, who brings him off to Dublin to educate him! The most valuable document in it is the account of the settlement of the Uí Maine in the territory that bears their name. This is the part that O'Donovan edited, with omissions. The Life of St. Grellan is only of secondary importance. The concluding words describe the compilation sufficiently: "Thus far the raising from the dead of Eoghan Sriabh mac Duach Galaigh and the coming of the Uí Maine from Ulster, and the destruction of the Aithechtuatha or Firbolgs, and the Life of St. Grellan." Many Irish poems are scattered through the text.

Ædh Mac Bric ✠ 10 Nov. 589 or 595.

The most popular of the Irish Saints honoured on 10 November was undoubtedly Ædh Mac Bric, who died in 589 or 595. Though no Irish Life of him is known to be extant, three Latin Lives, or rather three recensions of the same Latin Life, are to be found in various manuscripts. The Bollandists publish in this volume the three Lives or recensions—*viz.* (1) the revised text of the Codex Salmanticensis, Brussels MS 7672-7674; (2) the hitherto unpublished recension in the Oxford MSS Rawl. B. 485 and B. 505; (3) the original of Colgan's text, as found in the Codex in Marsh Library, Dublin, and in E. 3. 11 in Trinity College, Dublin, recently published by C. Plummer in his *Vitæ Sanctorum Hiberniæ*. P. Grosjean in his commentary studies the relationship of these recensions, the time when the saint lived, the date of his feast, his contemporaries, and his cult at Cell Air and Rath Ædha in Meath and at Sliabh Liag in Tir Conaill. Many of the miracles ascribed to St. Ædh are mere commonplaces of Irish hagiography; others are of a different type, and all are narrated in a vivid and vigorous style.

Ædh Mac Bric's fame as a curer of headaches is of very ancient date. A hymn invoking his aid to cure headaches is found in an 8th century MS at Karlsruhe in Germany. The story as told in the Lives testifies to the belief still common in Ireland, that the saint had to take upon himself the pains of the person he cured. "Another day a man suffering terribly from headaches came to St. Ædh and said to him: 'O Saint of God, I am tortured

terribly with a pain in the head which I cannot stand. I beseech thee to pray for me that this pain pass from me if it be possible, or if that may not be, that it become at least more bearable.' And Ædh said to him : ' Thy pain can not leave thee, unless it be transferred to me. Thou shalt have a great reward, if thou bearest it with patience.' But he replied : ' O Saint of God, this pain is beyond my strength.' Then St. Ædh, full of charity, pitied him, and took the headache of that man on himself, and bore it patiently to free his neighbour from suffering and bear the martyr's cross for Christ."

Ædh Mac Bric was also in after ages believed to have had the power of flying through the air in his chariot. The origin and development of this tradition may be seen in the Lives of the Saint. The earliest and simplest form of it is to be read in all the Lives. The Saint was sent by the King of Uí Neill to negociate a year's armistice with the King of Munster. " On the way, one wheel of the chariot broke, but the chariot ran on without let or hindrance, supported miraculously on the only other wheel. And when the people saw the chariot coming towards them on one wheel they wondered exceedingly, and received the Saint of God with great honour and glory." This simple incident has been worked up, in the Lives of the first and second recensions (those of the third recension omit them), into three different miracles, differing in little but the time and place of occurrence. The Saint, knowing in spirit while far off, that a rich benefactor in Munster was on the point of death, hastened to him. " And when he was going along in his chariot, he came to woods where there was no open way. Then Ædh said to the driver : ' Lay thy head on my bosom, lest thy eyes see anything.' And when he had done so, the chariot with its horses was raised forthwith from the ground and borne a long distance through the air by the hand of angels, to the place where he wished to go." There is an ancient shrine in Portugal known as Our Lady of the Air. Last year the Portuguese airmen selected Our Lady of the Air as their patroness. St. Ædh Mac Bric is even more clearly marked out as the patron of Irish aeronauts.

One more story and we have done. To understand it, it must be remembered that in ancient Ireland the day was counted as beginning at sunset, so that Sunday night, or the eve of Sunday, meant what we should now call Saturday night. " One Sunday night St. Ædh seeing some girls washing their hair, said to them : ' Girls, what do you mean ? ' ' We are trying to wash our hair,' they said. He said to them : ' Don't do that, for this is Sunday.' But they did not heed him, and went on washing their hair, as they had begun. When they rose in the morning, all their hair had fallen out, and not a single hair remained. Then the girls, crying and bewailing the loss of their hair, came to the

holy bishop, repented, and besought him to help them in their misery. St. Ædh blessed water for them and said: 'Bear your shame to-day, for this day being Sunday you ought not to wash on it.' The following day they washed, and their heads were forthwith adorned with new and beautiful hair."

Simple as this story is, it is not without significance for the dating of the composition of the original Life of St. Ædh, and it may well be quite authentic. In the *Annals of Ulster* we read: "In the year 886 an epistle came with the pilgrim to Ireland with the Cáin Domhnaigh and other good instructions." Now the Cáin Domhnaigh was the law forbidding servile works on Sunday. The Epistle of Jesus, which forms its introduction, expressly includes washing in its list of servile works: *Is ed aragursa inso, ol Dia, ná derntar isin Domnach . . . . berrad ná folcad ná fothrucad ná nige* (this is what I forbid, saith God, on Sunday there shall be . . . no shaving or washing or bathing or washing of clothes), and the fine for any of these violations is a third of an ounce of silver (cf. J. O'Keeffe, *Ériu* II pp. 189-214). The original Life would therefore seem to have been composed during the time that followed the promulgation of the Cáin Domhnaigh when attempts were being made to enforce it strictly, say the early part of the tenth century. There is also some reason to hold that the story may be authentic. For the Sunday Law, though not promulgated generally or strictly enforced until 886, purports to have been first brought from Rome three centuries earlier by Conall mac Cœlmaine, who had gone thither as a pilgrim. Conall and Ædh Mac Bric were contemporaries, for Conall died about the year 590, while Ædh died in 589 or 595. It is therefore quite possible that both the Saints may have distinguished themselves in the second half of the sixth century in endeavouring unsuccessfully to introduce into Ireland the prohibition of servile works on Sunday.

John MacErlean.

II—Oblates of Mary Immaculate, 1826–1926

BY STEPHEN J. BROWN, S.J.

On the 17th of February, 1826, Pope Leo XII. gave his solemn approbation to a new religious society, henceforward to be known as the Oblates of Mary Immaculate. Thus the Oblate Fathers, so well-known to us in Ireland, are this year celebrating the centenary of the establishment of their Congregation. The history of the work accomplished and the progress realised during those first hundred years makes an interesting and indeed a wonderful story.

It was in the year of Waterloo that the idea of his future Congregation first took shape in the thoughts of its founder. Charles Joseph Eugene de Mazenod[1] belonged to a noble family of Provence, which under the monarchy had given distinguished services and held high position. The Revolution drove it, along with every other noble family that had time to escape, out of France, and it was in exile that young de Mazenod's childhood was passed. But with the Empire came freedom to return. He was now the head of his house, with vast estates and great wealth at his disposal. But he had no mind for these things, nor for the fine career that seemed to open before him. His thoughts had already definitely turned in a very different direction.

The Empire had restored stability to France, cured her social and political ills, raised her prestige among the nations. But the Revolution had left behind it moral and religious wounds, which firm government and the Code Napoléon were powerless to heal. Moreover, as the reign went on, France paid for the glory of her victories by the sad moral and material consequences of her ceaseless wars. Finally, such of the clergy as had escaped the guillotine had been banished en masse, and the spiritual abandonment of their flocks, especially in the country places, was disastrous.

On his return to France de Mazenod gave his time and money to the relief of the misery around him, but he soon felt that he was able to do but little to relieve the far deeper spiritual distress of the people. He determined to enter the priesthood and was ordained in 1811. He at once threw himself into work, first for the poor of Aix, then for prisoners, then for the plague-stricken. This last work nearly cost him his life. He fell ill of the plague and recovered only as by a miracle. Grieved at his inability to do more, he soon began to think of associating companions with himself. He first called upon an old school-fellow, now a priest, the Abbé Tempier, and the response was generous. Soon a little group was formed, and on the 25th January, 1816, they met for the first time in community.

It is interesting to note that the founder and these first companions believed that they were merely forming a little group of priests to give missions in the country districts of Provence: Missioners of Provence they would call themselves, if they needed a name. Little suspecting the developments that were to come, they set to work as though the destined sphere of their labours lay wholly in the valley of the Rhone and the adjacent mountains. They travelled from village to village, everywhere reviving the faith. The solemn approbation of Rome came, as we have

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[1] See *Sketches of the Life of Mgr. de Mazenod* by Father Robert Cooke, O.M.I. New revised edition by Father Thomas Dawson, O.M.I. (Dublin. 1914.)

recorded, in 1826, and very soon expansion began. The Oblates had entrusted to them one seminary after another. The Founder became Archbishop of Marseilles, Père Guibert Bishop of Viviers —he was one day to be Cardinal Archbishop of Paris. Père Albini began his wonderful apostolate in Corsica. The Congregation became international—there were Irishmen in it by 1840. Houses were founded in Switzerland, in England, in Ireland, as well as in many parts of France.

But it is the year 1841 that marks the beginning of the most glorious episode in the history of the Oblates—the Mission to the Canadian North West, *l'Épopée Blanche*[1], the White Epic. The name is merited, for there is an epic freshness, breadth, and grandeur about the story of the evangelization of the Far North. It has been finely told by Père Duchaussois, O.M.I. in *Aux Glaces Polaires*, a book which has been given to us in an English dress under the title *Mid Snow and Ice.*[2] The story begins with the arrival in Marseilles of Mgr. Bourget, the then Bishop of Montreal. He was warmly welcomed by Mgr. de Mazenod, and the result of the conversations between the two bishops was the departure for Canada on September 29, 1841, of four Oblate Fathers and two Brothers.

They began by missions among the French Canadians such as they had given in Provence: they were assigned a parish in Montreal, one of them became first bishop of Ottawa (then called Bytown), a diocese as yet existing only on paper, and a college was founded there which was to develop into a University. But very soon their zeal carried them beyond the settled districts into the frozen wilds of Labrador on the East, and to the North into the backwoods and the lakes where dwelt the Algonquins and the *coureurs des bois*, around Lakes Temiskaming and Abitibi and along Hudson Bay. But the real epic was yet to come—the apostolate of the far North West.

In the forties of the last century the territories now known as Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, Yukon, Mackenzie, and Keewatin were a vast and dreary waste, untrodden by the white man, empty but for scattered tribes of wandering Redskins. To reach Winnipeg, the mere threshold of this vast and pathless wilderness, the first missionaries took sixty-three days by birch-bark canoe and portage. Setting out from Winnipeg they left civilization behind, and faced cold, hunger, incredible distances, and loneliness.

These four words are no mere flourish of rhetoric. Consider for instance the climate—a winter lasting eight months during

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[1]Title of a remarkable book by a young French traveller, L. F. Rouquette.

[2]Translated by Father Thomas Dawson, O.M.I., Inchicore, and published by Messrs. Burns, Oates and Washbourne, 1923.

which the snow does not leave the ground and the thermometer varies from 45° to 55° below zero. And this climate was faced, without any of the modern devices for combating the cold, by men from the sunny land of Provence. Then to reach his mission the Oblate of those days had for two months to traverse in raft or canoe more than a thousand miles of lakes and rivers, sometimes struggling against the current, sometimes rushing madly over the rapids, often wearily dragging his canoe through the forests. Once arrived in their mission their journeying had but begun. In a land which counted scarcely one inhabitant to two hundred and fifty square miles, endless journeys were called for. Thus we find Père Breynat, Apostle of the Cariboo Indians, traversing the 250 miles of Lake Athabasca forty-five times, of which twenty-three were done on snow-shoes. Père Tissier had to go 500 miles in mid-winter to obtain wine for his Christmas Mass among the Castors. Père Gascon made three times in close succession a journey of over 800 miles to reach his neophytes, the Yellowknife Indians. From this one may gather the loneliness of life in the Great Lone Land. For seven years Père Pascal was alone at N.D. des Sept-Douleurs. Twice a year he travelled hundreds of miles to the nearest mission station to make his annual retreat and confession. The solitude of Père Tissier lasted thirteen years, during which he had but four brief visits from passing missionaries. Père Bruno Roure spent fourteen years absolutely alone but for the visits twice a year of his confessor.

To these formidable hardships and perils were added difficulties of another kind. The missionaries had to learn, without grammar or dictionary, the numberless dialects of the Indians. They had to follow them in their wanderings in search of caribou or buffalo. They had to live in their filthy wigwams that swarmed with vermin, and to eat their loathsome food. That is when there was food to eat; for hunger and even starvation is all but a normal condition of life in the wilds of Athabasca and Keewatin. "La famine," says one, "est la noire souveraine de ces immensités perdues." There came moments when the missioner, having eaten his last fish or scraped the last crumbs of pemmican from its tin, gnawed his mocassins to stay for a moment the ravenous pangs of his hunger. We remember the picture in *Hiawatha*:—

> O the wasting of the famine . . . .
> Hungry was the air around them
> Hungry was the sky above them
> And the hungry stars in heaven
> Like the eyes of wolves glared at them.

Such was the life of those magnificent pioneers whose names deserve to live in history—Grollier, Grandin, Taché, Clut,

Grouard,[1] Pascal, Lacombe, Breynat, Gascon. And what were the results? Often years of heart-breaking failure[2]; but in the end one Indian tribe after another was won to the faith, till to-day more than half (65 per cent.) of the Indians of Canada are Catholics. Meanwhile the foundations of the Church were laid throughout all that vast region from Hudson Bay to the Pacific, and from the prairies of Dakota to the hunting-grounds of the Eskimo along the shores of the Arctic Ocean.[3]

So wonderful is the story of these Far Western Missions that in telling it we have left ourselves scant space in which to deal with the achievements of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate in other regions of the world. Yet these, in their own way, are no less remarkable. They went to Ceylon in 1847 to find 80,000 Catholics. There are 328,000 to-day, and the Oblate diocese of Colombo is one of the finest in the world. In South Africa they are to be found in Natal and the Orange Free State, in the Transvaal and in Basutoland. In all these missions they have had remarkable success. In Cimbebasia, further north, after long and fruitless efforts, they have at last succeeded. The tribe of Bechuanas is now entirely Catholic all but five or six individuals.[4] In 1849 they undertook an abandoned and difficult mission in Texas, newly annexed by the United States. Since then their four American provinces have continued to grow in numbers and importance. This very year a new mission has been confided to them in Bolivia.

To render possible this wonderful expansion it is clear that a great development of the Congregation in Europe must have taken place. And so it was. This French order not only spread into Italy and Spain, Belgium and Austria, but took firm root in England and later in Germany. It came to Ireland in 1856. Not only was Europe the recruiting ground for the great Oblate Missions, it was the scene of very varied labours on their part. Many Oblates were made bishops and placed in charge of important dioceses such as Marseilles and Paris. Famous sanctuaries, notably Montmartre in Paris, were confided to their care. An Oblate Father, Père Noailles, founded the Sisters of

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[1] *Soixante Ans d'Apostolat dans l'Athabasca Mackenzie*, par Mgr. Grouard. Lyon Vitte, 1924.

[2] Père Turquetil after eight years of toil and suffering had baptised six Eskimos.

[3] When the first Oblates went to the Canadian North West they found one bishop, eleven missionaries, and at most 5,000 Catholics. In 1925 there were in the same region 18 bishops, 1,160 priests and nearly 900,000 Catholics.

[4] The Oblates found on their arrival in South Africa in 1852 one Dutch priest, three chapels, and a few hundred Catholics. There are now six bishops, eight prefects apostolic, 291 priests, and 192,000 Catholics.

the Holy Family, who became the devoted auxiliaries of the Congregation. Elsewhere the Oblates took charge of parishes: the present writer happens to have witnessed their excellent work in the Channel Islands. In the New World, too, they conduct many parishes, such as those for the Polish and German immigrants at Winnipeg, that at Regina for the German colonists of Saskatchewan, those for the Galicians and Hungarians in the same province, various parishes of French Canadians in the United States. In Ireland as elsewhere they conduct industrial schools, in addition to the ordinary priests' work of preaching and administering the Sacraments. Strangely enough the land that gave birth to the Oblates has proved a harsh mother to them. The expulsions of 1903 well-nigh ruined the two flourishing provinces of France, and they have not yet recovered from the blow.

To-day, after a hundred years of glorious work for the grandest of all causes, the Congregation of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate is more vigorous than ever. It numbers close on three thousand members, and in its twenty-three "Juniorates" or Apostolic Schools 1,620 young men are being trained for their future apostleship. Long may it flourish.

Stephen J. Brown.

REVIEWS

Biography

IGNATIUS LOYOLA. By Paul Van Dyke. New York and London: Scribner. 1926. Pp. vi.+381. 15*s*.

THE publication of the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu* has awakened a fresh interest among scholars in the early history of the Society. Naturally enough, the Jesuits were the first to exploit the mine, in the regional histories of the Society published by Astrain, Tacchi-Venturi, Fouqueray and Duhr. We have, besides, admirable lives of Sts. Francis Xavier and Francis Borgia, satisfying all the exigencies of the best historical criticism; but so far, in spite of the need for it, no modern Jesuit life of St Ignatius.

And now, one after another, two American Protestant historians try their very competent hands at it. Both have studied their subject conscientiously, in that splendid and characteristically American temper which tries to "get the other fellow's point of view," to enter into the character they are describing. That temper is America's best gift to historical scholarship, and promises to do much to bring past—and present—controversies into a truer perspective.

There can be no doubt that Professor Van Dyke is the more successful of the two. He is more at home in the atmosphere of the sixteenth century. And he does not seem, as Mr. Sedgwick often does, to be struggling, generously but vainly, in the toils of a harsh and narrow Puritanism.

As an example of Professor Van Dyke's sympathetic insight, here is his comment on the action of Francis Xavier in licking the sores of a leper, and of Ignatius in putting into his mouth the hand which had touched the sores of a plague-stricken man :—

> . . . We must remember that what they did seemed just as dangerous to them as it does to us—and just as disgusting; for they were both Basque nobles, a class of people noted for cleanliness. As patriots in time of war steel themselves to face dirt, hardship and death through months or years for the sake of their country, so these men of delicate conscience and iron will were fixed on dying daily for all the years of their life in the great war between God and evil. . . . In their ideal of living there was no room for ordinary pleasures or natural disgusts. They were determined to strip their life absolutely bare of all motives except obedience to the Church, the wish to help the sins and sorrows of men, joy in God and the fellowship of those like-minded with themselves.

Or again, on Ignatius' concept of the Society :—

> His view of the Order is personal and not at all mechanical. . . . This man wishes his followers to be pure in heart, poor in spirit, merciful, to hunger and thirst after righteousness, to strive always to make peace. He is quite sure that men of this sort will carry the Company to great triumphs for God, the Church, and man.

Or again, on obedience :—

> Ignatius did not look on obedience as an iron rule to crush individuals into a mass. He meant it to be a spiritual grace to unite the hearts and minds of men whose individuality was highly developed, into a living organism.

Professor Van Dyke, one can see, is able to conceive truly and strongly ; he expresses his concepts with precision, and often with distinction.

He rightly stresses a leading idea in Ignatius' scheme of missionary effort : the insistence on positive teaching as opposed to controversy, the doctrine that truth of its own power drives out error. Curiously enough, he quite misses, as do many others, what is perhaps the most striking example of this tendency. In the *Spiritual Exercises*, he is so much struck by the " Ignatian " features, the Two Standards, the Three Classes of Men, etc., that he does not notice that by far the greater part of the time of the second, third and fourth weeks is given up to the contemplation of Our Lord's life in all its phases, " that we may know Him better and love Him more, and thereby be led to follow Him."

In some respects this book is an undoubted success. It gives a very real and vivid, and, I think, true impression of the character of Ignatius as it would have appeared to a contemporary observer. And its analysis often cuts deep. Yet when it comes to describing his spiritual life, his prayer, the *Spiritual Exercises*, one realises that Ignatius has not yet found his final biographer.

Nevertheless, no one who is interested in Ignatius Loyola ought to miss this life. M. F. E.

LA VIE DU COMTE DE SAINT-SIMON. Par Maxime Leroy. Paris : Grasset. 1925. 7 fr. 50.

The centenary last year of the death of Count Henri Saint-Simon yielded a crop of books about him and his teachings. This is an excellently written biographical study ; but, frankly, it does not convince us that Saint-Simon repays much study. His name is best known because it became that of a socialistic sect that had a vogue among young men in France during the first half of the nineteenth century. Every Catholic who has read the life of Ozanam, for instance, will remember the Saint-Simonians. As a matter of fact, however, Saint-Simonism had very little relation to Saint-Simon himself. The Master was an atheist, but some of his disciples, Rodrigues and Enfantin, by prodigies of interpretation, drew from his writings a perverted mysticism, so that in the initiation rite of the sect the neophyte made the declaration : " Je crois que Dieu a suscité Saint-Simon pour enseigner le Père (Enfantin) par Rodrigues."

It is claimed for Saint-Simon that he invented Socialism and also Sociology. The ground for the first claim is that he affirmed

the formula that society should be organised with a view to the greatest possible amelioration of the moral and physical conditions of the poorest classes. M. Leroy gravely tells us that, in writing this, Saint-Simon was for the first time in history bringing the masses of the people to the front of the political stage and claiming for them as a body their moral rights. This teaching, that M. Leroy considers so revolutionary, would have been regarded as commonplace in the middle ages. The claim to the invention of Sociology amounts merely to a claim to have anticipated the positivist method of Comte. Nobody now imagines that the deterministic theorising that arrogates to itself the name Sociology has added much of value to human knowledge, and whatever be his importance in the history of Positivism Saint-Simon is not entitled to glory on that account.

Nor can we greatly admire Saint-Simon's personality. He was a colossal egotist from his boyhood to his old age. He ordered his servant to awaken him every morning with the salutation : " Remind yourself that you have great work to do." He fought in the American War of Independence, but after that experience decided that fighting was not his métier. By taking the popular side and divesting himself of his aristocratic name he came safely through the vicissitudes of the Revolution, though he was very near the guillotine once, and he enriched himself by shrewd speculations in confiscated Church lands. He fell into poverty, partly through extravagance but mainly through misfortune, and the best side of his nature is shown in the courage with which he strives to accomplish his schemes despite daunting adversity. Though he was theoretically the enemy of hereditary aristocracy and a strong champion of an aristocracy of merit (feeling sure of his own personal qualifications), he always remained very vain about his reputed descent from Charlemagne.

He was always a man for grandiose schemes. Before Bonaparte came on the horizon he had planned a French attack on English power in India, and at twenty-seven years of age he was the prime mover of a serious scheme to build a canal from Madrid to the sea. During the Empire he founded a salon in Paris. He had become an enthusiast for physical science. He loved to surround himself with professors of science to pick their brains. Purely in order to regularise his salon he provided himself with a wife ; but it was mutually agreed that the marriage should be terminated at the end of three years. This period was too long, and his wife cordially consented to a divorce at the end of one year. Many a one who has tried to create a salon has established only a restaurant, and Saint-Simon found that his guests were more eager for refreshment of the body than improvement of the mind. " My savants and artists," he complained, " come here and eat much but they talk little."

Later on he became as zealous for the industrial expansion of France as he had been for the advancement of science, and this gained him the patronage of great industrialists. He was useful to them at a time when trade and industry were still under the shadow of centuries of aristocratic disdain. His fertile mind threw forth vast plans for the industrial organisation of the nation, and in many ways he startlingly anticipated modern developments. H. S.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF GUIBERT, ABBOT OF NOGENT-SOUS-COUCY. Translated by C. Swinton Bland. With an introduction by G. G. Coulton (Broadway Translations, edited by G. G. Coulton). London: Routledge. 1926. pp. 224. 7*s.* 6*d.*

THIS is a translation of an interesting medieval document which, while throwing into high relief the pious author's veneration for his mother, paints a terrible picture of the lawlessness and barbarity of the age in which he lived. Historically it is of importance as providing an account of one of the earliest popular outbreaks against the feudal system, a sanguinary riot occasioned in 1112 by the Bishop's shameless breach of faith with the "Commune" of Laon.

Mr. Swinton Bland has produced a quite readable English version of his author, but he is unfortunately very ill-equipped to face the pitfalls which a not too straightforward medieval text presents for the unwary. His rendering abounds in blunders, of which some may be attributable to the printer, but the majority are certainly his own. For example we read of "Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, an Italian from across the Alps, the country of Augustus." *Augustana regione oriundum* are Guibert's words, which, of course, simply mean that he was born near Aosta. So our translator speaks of "the sixth day of the octave of the Epiphany," when he ought to say "on the Friday within the octave of the Epiphany" (*cum esset sexta feria*). Similarly S. Maria Versiliacensis is not St. Mary of Versailles, but of Vezelay; "St. Witon in the city of Winchester" should be St. Swithin; and when we are told that a bishop "went barefoot to St. Asceolus," the reader would not readily guess that the object of his pilgrimage was not a holy ascetic but the abbey of Saint-Acheul in the diocese of Amiens.

These and many more such mistakes are relatively pardonable oversights, but it is a more serious matter when Guibert in the early 12th century is made to talk of "Dominican houses," instead of houses of God (*dominicarum domuum decore*), or when whole sentences are completely misinterpreted, so much so that they sometimes convey the exact contrary of the author's meaning. The most astounding blunder is that by which the

name of the place where Guibert became a monk and where his mother died is throughout the book printed as "Ely," and must therefore inevitably be located by the reader in England, whereas in point of fact it stands for Flaviacum, *i.e.*, Flay or Fly in Normandy. Dr. Coulton, who is so censorious a critic of all Catholic historical work, would have done well to look a little more closely at the proofs of a book of which he is the ostensible editor. H. T.

PORTRAITS DE CATHOLIQUES SOCIAUX. Conférences données en 1924-1925. Paris: Editions Spes. 1926. 9 frs.

These biographical sketches, originally delivered as lectures at Lille, were well-worth re-printing; for, entrusted to experts, they treat, in popular fashion and yet with real insight, of six great Catholics of last century. All are excellently presented. Père Guitton has been specially successful in revealing the intimate religious life of Léon Harmel and the pure spirit of apostolate in which he conducted the great industrial concern of Val-des-Bois, so successfully indeed on its material side that many were incapable of believing that financial prosperity had not been throughout his main objective. Canon Looten of Lille contributes a well-balanced sketch of Cardinal Manning, who has always been more widely appreciated abroad than by English Catholics at home. M. Duthoit, the well-known President of the Semaines Sociales, describes, from an intimacy of many years, Henri Lorin, a figure very influential in his day, thanks to the hospitable salon he held in Paris as a rallying ground for men and women of all nations keen on social Catholicism, a man of infectious enthusiasms and abundant energy who unfortunately lacked the literary skill to cast his wide knowledge of contemporary French affairs into any permanent form. In proof of Cardinal Mermillod's great oratorical gifts it is related that, after preaching in Paris a charity sermon on behalf of famine-struck Ireland, a workingman, with nothing else to give, placed his watch in the plate with the remark that it was not necessary to know the time when a nation was dying of hunger. V. M. C.

Celtica

AN LITRIOCHT. An t-Ath Seoirse Mac Clúin do scríobh. Baile Átha Cliath: Brún agus Ó Nualáin. 1926. 228 leath. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Ag léirmheas agus ag baint feadhma as an leabhar so dhúinn, tá dhá rud ann nach mór dúinn a n-eadarscaradh go beacht ó n-a chéile; mar atá, an teanasc agus an modh scríobhtha.

I.—Dála an teagaisc féin, fós, ní fuláir é dh'infhiúchadh ó dhá thaobh,—ó thaobh an fhoircheadail agus ó thaobh na gcuspaí nó na somplaí. Maidir leis an bhfoircheadal, ba dheacair locht d'fhagháil air *'na fhorais*, óir sé rud atá ann, na riaghalacha bunúis is fothaí thíos fa bhun na h-ealadhan il-fhillte, olghabhlánaighe seo na litríochta cibé teanga i na gcumtar í. Acht, bíodh féin go bhfuil na fothaí seo coitchean, ar cheadaigh sin don údar oirmhidneach an dreach alltair, an dath gallda so do chur orra, iad do thoighdeadh dhúinn de réir tuise an Bhéarla—agus é ag scrí', dar leat, le h-aghaidh Ghaedheal, ar mhaite le litríocht na Gaedhilge ? Ní gan fáth sinn bheith leis dá dheascaidh.

Dá mb'é ón taobh istigh do bhraithnigh an t-Ath. Seoirse an litríocht so againne, ní bheadh aon teacht aige thar an " soinéad," cuir i gcas, toisc gan a leithéid ann, acht thagrochadh sé don chuma san dá ngoirthear " Trí Rainn is Abhrán," an fhorghnúis liteardha Ghaedhilge is giorra dhó. Muna mbeadh an tuise allmhúrach chéadna de shíor na láimh aige, is fearr, dar liom, thuigfeadh sé rud atá fighte chomh dlúth leis an bhfilíocht gaedhlaigh is atá an Uaim. Fé mar ná deallraigheann an " soinéad " forcamach don Bhéarlóir, ní dheallraigheann an uaim forcamach don Ghaedheal. Is cirte thuigeann Tórna maise na h-uama. " Ar son," ar sé " ná fuil an Uaim riachtanach don bhfilíocht anois, *is mór an deisiú ar líne í bheith uirri. Taithneann sí leis an gcluais.* Agus nuair bítear ag tabhairt tuairisce ar fhilíocht na mbíonn uaim ní mór tagairt di." Agus shiné díreach an locht atá agam ar na samhlaídí do-bheireann sé anuas ; an iomarca ar fad díobh as Béarla, agus fiú na n-aitheasc nGaedhilge féin, gach giorracht dá bhfuilid do dhul an Bhéarla, is eadh is mó agus is annsa leis iad.

II.—Maidir leis an modh scríobhtha—tá modh fé leith ar na bhaint amach dó féin ag an Ath. Seoirse. Is ró-eagal liom, ámh, nach ins an seantreoir ghaedhlach ritheann sé. De réir a n-admhaigheann sé ar leathanaigh a 42-3, ag tagairt do Lomnachtán dó, ní dóigh liom gur thuig sé riamh an tréith is bunúsaighe dá mbaineann le greann na Gaedhilge ; sé sin, an iomairbhréag shaobhnósach ar son an mhagaidh. Ní h-iongnadh, dá chionn, nár thaithn na scéalta fiannaíochta riamh leis, agus nár léigh sé puinn díobh. Tá a rian air.

Ón ábhar do bhí dhá fhuineadh aige, do b'éigin dó roinnt mhaith fhocal céirde do chur i bhfeidhm. Ní mholfainn dá lucht léighte acht amháin " céadnacht " agus fo-cheann eile do ghlacadh uaidh. Ní féidir acht corr-mhalairt do thabhairt annso. Ní ceapadóireacht aon cheann aca. In ionad páirteán cuir comhdhúil, nó comhdhamhna : in ionad prionnsabal cuir foras : in ionad difineán cuir urchaoladh nó sonnradh ; in ionadh teoiric, cuir teoir, teidheann an focal so siar go dtí na gluaiseanna ; in ionad grúpa cuir gasradh : in ionad airtifiseálta (!) cuir forcamach(ta) :

Muinlan, acht nach é an *treoir* tugtar ar an umar in a rithtear an miotal ar leaghadh? In ionad rómán agus rómánsaíocht cuir finnscéal is finnscéalaíocht. In ionad analóga sé cosamhaile(as) do bhí againn chomh fada siar le Ml.; agus sé ba Ghaedilg riamh ar classach ná dearsena(ighte). In ionad réalacht cuir neitheamhlacht; agus más realism atá uait cuir réadacht air (rét =réd =réad =rud). Ar idéalach chuirfinn-se oidheamach; ar aestuigheach chuirfinn seemh-bhreathach. In ionad organach agus organú, sé chuirfinn-se comhbhallach agus combhallaighim. Sé eascarthain is Gaedhilg ar ebholu. Cumanacht atá aige ar fiction. Dalbh atá air i dToghail na Teibe. Acht "ga dtám ris," mar adeireadh na seanúdair; ní beag son de. An innsgne atá aige ar aigne agus ar cineadh, tá sí bun os cionn leis an litríocht.

O n-a bhfuil ráite is cainte agam, ar t'anam, a léightheóir, ná beir leat gur fóbair gan tairbhe an leabhar so. Do b'olc an dóigh san, mar ní h-eadh: agus ba chaillte an mhaise dhamhsa tráchtas cargna ar litríocht as Gaedhilg do choimeád ó shúla lucht foghlamtha Ghaedhilge de dheasca an innigh ghallda atá fighte faoi, foraoir! Ní h-é sin an fuadar atá fúm, acht é seo:—tá ábhar an leabhair chomh bunúsach san, agus tá an oiread san d'eolas tairbheach, tromchúiseach, deagh-fhuinte le fagháil ar a fhuaid, gur mile truagh liom nach seacht bhfearra é. Dá mb'áil leis an Ath. Scoirse ceileabhrú feasta d'Arnold, is do Saintsbury, is do Haslett agus dá gcuideachtain, agus é féin do thumadh, idir cheann is croidhe, idir mheon is tuigsint, idir aigne is inchinn, in aibhéis draoidheachta litríochta na Gaedhilge, go cionn deich mbliadhan, agus annsan an leabhar so d'athchumadh ó *leaistigh*, gabhaim-se orm go mbeath croiceann eile ar an scéal do bheadh le h-aithris annsan aige. Ní h-í long an Dr. de Brun atá ag glaodhac air acht Cait Ní Dhuidhir. Má ghlacann sé an cuireadh is lugha den tseoirseacht, agus is mó den chlúnacht bheas ins an gcéad iarracht eile,—mar adéaradh sé féin.

Rinne muintear Bhrún agus Nualáin a gcion féin go rí-mhaith. Thugadar leabhar canta dhúinn, idir chló is pháipéar is chlúdach. Thugas fo-dhearmad cló fá deara, acht, ní mór le rádh aon cheann aca.

OMIKRON.

AODHAGAN O RATHAILLE. Séamas O hAodha, M.A., do scriobh. Comhlucht Oideachais na h-Eireann. 1925. leath-choróinn glan.

MOLANN an obair an t-oibridhe! Nuair rugas ar an leabhar so ar aigne a léir-mheasta, admhaighim anois go raibh, im dhearg-aindeoin, leath-chlaon mór im aigne na choinne. Dá gcuirinn friotal ar mo smaoine, ar an gcuma so gheobhadh sé:—"Cad chuige an macalla agus an ceol féin ann acht éisteacht leis?" Niorbh fhada gha léigheamh mé, ámh, go dtángas ar mhalairt

tuairime. Ní mór obair amhail obair an leabhair seo do dhéanamh agus d' aithdhéanamh; agus sin, ní h-amháin d'Aodhagán, acht d' Eoin Ruadh, do Dáibhí O Bruadair, don Dall Mac Cuarta, d' Art Mac Cobhthaigh agus don uile mhór-fhile Gaodhlach eile. Le beo Shakespeare agus tamall maith iar n-éag dó, ba shuaill, shuarach meas a mhuintire féin air. Níor bhfhuláir do na Gearmánaigh mór-fhile an t-Sacs-Bhéarla d'fhionnadh agus a ard-airdheana fileata do theagasc do na Sasanaigh féin. Go nuige seo, theip fiú ar na Gearmánaigh ard-airdheana ár bhfilí ndúchais féin do chur na luighe orainne. Nasareth againn an Ghaedhilg, nach féidir d' aon rud foghanta teacht aiste! Má tá aon leigheas suas ar an ngalar so, siad raisc mar an leabhar so an leigheas san gan agó, —acht iad do thabhairt don othar go mion, minic, go láidir fuinneamhail. "Níl ann acht bheith as."

Leabhar léir-mheasa an leabhar so ó láimh duine deagh-oilte ag a bhfuil tuigsint sa litríocht agus eolas leathan uirri, idir alltar is ceanntar di, agus gaos dá réir ar an gcéird. An té, uime sin, gur mhaith leis láin-bhrigh fhilíochta Aodhagáin do thabhairt leis, agus é ghá léigheamh, ní mór dó an leabhar treoire seo fé na lámha aige.

As an gcéad is ceathair is fiche leathanach atá san leabhar, atá seasca éigin díobh fén léir-mheas, annsan tá aon t-amhrán déag na gcuspaí ar ghnéithe éagsamhla oibre an fhile, dhá fhoclóir agus ainmeóir,—sin líon an leabhair. Rinneadar na foillseóirí a gcion féin ar fheabhas. Chuireadar cló soiléir, soiléighte ann, deagh-pháipéar agus mar bharra ar gach sochar, chuireadar clúdach deas guirm-éadaigh air. Gura móide a cheannach é!

MICHEAL MAC CRAITH.

THE POETS AND POETRY OF MUNSTER. With poetical Translations by James Clarence Mangan. Illustrated by the Original Music and Biographical Sketches of the Authors. Fourth Edition. Dublin: Duffy. 1925. 615 pp. 6s.

SEO sean-chara do mheall a lán chum na Gaedhilge, trí dhraoidheacht Bhéarla an Mhangánaigh. Is maith an nidh é bheith le fagháil arís, agus tá an domhan Fodhlach fé chomaoin ag muintir Dhubhthaigh dá bharr. Is fíor go bhfuil urmhór na n-amhrán atá ann fé chló anois i leabhair eile, acht tá a gceol ceart féin ag gabháil leo annso agus cuspaí ó fhilí eile mar aon leo ná fuil cló orra, go bhfeas dom acht annso. Is mór an truagh nár ceartaigheadh cló-bhualadh na Gaedhilge. Táid na dearmaid chló go ró-fhairsing ar fad ann.

MICHEAL MAC CRAITH.

Economics

LES ALLOCATIONS FAMILIALES EN BELGIQUE ET EN FRANCE. By Val. Fallon, S.J. Louvain: Desbarax. Brussels: Dewit. Paris: Giraudon. 1926. 7.50 *fr.*

FAMILY ALLOWANCES IN PRACTICE. By Hugh H. R. Vibart, M.A. London: P. S. King. 1926. 10*s.* 6*d.*

THE Family Allowance is an addition made to the wages of a married workman in respect of his dependants—his wife and each of his children. During and immediately after the Great War, the depreciation of currencies and inflation of prices in belligerent countries made imperative the granting of "cost of living" bonuses; a saving was effected by making these grants, not equally to all, but to each according to his needs. Thus a system of wage adjustment which had been known only in a few tentative experiments before 1916, developed and spread rapidly in France, and passed thence into Belgium, Germany, Austria and the neighbouring countries. In France alone, at the present time, some 3,500,000 persons are paid according to scales which differ for married and unmarried workers.

Quite a vast literature has grown up around the subject: we have in English two excellent volumes giving the details and the statistics of the movement, one published by the International Labour Office, the other by the U.S. Department of Labor. The two works before us are, however, welcome additions to the literature, for both of them attempt a study of all the problems involved in wage distribution in general as well as of this system in particular. Any one interested in the subject will find in either book an admirable account of the history, of the factors which have promoted the widespread adoption of the system, of the mechanism of its administration. Father Fallon deals only with Belgium and France; he writes as a convinced enthusiast; and his chief concern is to find a means of stemming the decline in the birth rate. We cannot follow him in his argument that the family allowance, though not required by commutative justice, is still a payment for social services rendered, and therefore not a mere charitable subsidy. This classing of parenthood as a *social service* creating a moral *title* to remuneration is utterly repugnant to Christian ideas; Fr. Fallon attempts to explain away this objection, but, we think, unsuccessfully. The position commonly held by Catholic moralists on the proper remuneration of the worker is too lightly abandoned by the author, and it would almost seem as if he did not recognise that charity can give an honourable title and a title, too, which may impose a strict obligation on the employer. This question of the worker's

title or right to the family allowance has given rise to much animated controversy; it appears to us that the matter would be settled by regarding the system as a form of social insurance. Employers, indeed, assert that the workers make no contribution to the fund from which the allowances are paid; the second book under review, however, gives cogent reasons for believing the contrary. Apart from this point, we believe that Father Fallon's book is a safe and informing guide. Particularly interesting is the section in which it is argued that modern economic conditions bear very heavily on the father of a family in the working classes.

Mr. Vibart's book is a more dispassionate study; it is also larger and more comprehensive. The author deals very fully with administration—this is often very complex—with the reactions of the system, and with all its allied problems. He, too, deals with *title*; but as he is more impressed by economic than by ethical arguments, he does not help us very much. We are given, however, a clear statement of the Catholic view of wages, an account of Leo XIII's efforts for social reform, and some very valuable references to the attitude of Catholics to the Family Allowance system. Altogether Mr. Vibart gives us a very complete and exhaustive study of the whole subject. Because the book is so complete, we think that the author was ill-advised in omitting to give any account of the motives which have led certain countries to abandon the system after they had adopted it. The fact seems to be that many believe that the system is desirable only in time of economic crisis and should be abandoned when circumstances permit the paying of a living wage to all men. Irish readers studying the subject should remember that in France and Belgium, where the system is most widespread, it has owed its success chiefly to two factors: first the lowness of real wages, second the desire to find a means of combating neo-malthusian practices.

Considered as a permanent institution rather than as an expedient in time of stress, there is much to be said for the family allowances system, but we think only in the form it has taken in Holland, not in that which it has in France and Belgium. The Dutch system is peculiar in this that it presupposes that all workmen receive a wage sufficient to support a family of five persons; allowances are paid only for the fourth and subsequent children. If anyone takes the index of Mr. Vibart's book, and looks up all the references to Holland, he will be rewarded with a knowledge of a sound Catholic attitude to Family Allowances

J. P. McC.

AN ACADEMIC STUDY OF SOME MONEY MARKET AND OTHER STATISTICS. By E. G. Peake, O.B.E., M.A., LL.B. London: P. S. King. 1926. 15*s.* net.

IN the earlier chapters of this, the second enlarged edition of a work first published some years ago, Mr. Peake discusses the inter-relationships between certain interest and discount rates in the London money market. His enquiry covers the years 1882 to 1913 inclusive. It is first shown diagrammatically and by means of the formal theory of correlation that there is a strong positive correlation between—

(*a*) the rate of interest on floating money;
(*b*) the rate of discount on 3 months bank bills;
(*c*) the rate of discount on 6 months bank bills.

Each of these series is markedly seasonal, the first reaching its highest point in March and lowest in July, the other two reaching their highest point in November and lowest in July. With a view to anticipating the future course of the rates on floating money Mr. Peake next proceeds to demonstrate certain important relations between these rates. Over the period of years examined there is a positive correlation, in each of the months of the year, between

(1) the difference between (*a*) and (*b*) and the average rise or fall of (*a*) during the next two months;
(2) the difference between (*a*) and (*c*) and the average rise or fall of (*a*) during the next five months.

In the first case the coefficient of correlation ranges from +·745 in February to +·215 in May; in the second, from +·774 in February to +·260 in July. From these results a table is given forecasting the course which the rate of floating money will take during the months following a given month in which the difference between the floating rate and the discount rate on bank bills is known.

Interesting results were also found in the movements of the discount and foreign exchange rates from week to week. During the months April to November, in the years 1882 to 1913, a movement in the floating rate in London was generally followed the next week by a movement in the same direction of the rate of exchange on Paris (336 cases to 242, the odds against this being a chance occurrence being about 800 to 1). During all the months of the year except February and July the London—New York exchange generally moves up or down in the week, following a movement in the same direction of the London discount rate (394 cases to 203, the odds against this being a chance occurrence being about 1,400 to 1). While regarding Mr. Peake's results as both convincing and important, we confess that we should have preferred that he had used this "method of favourable cases" in preference to the method of correlation throughout his researches.

The next chapters are devoted to a study of the annual movements from 1850 to 1924 of the prices of the commodities used in the compilation of the Sauerbeck-Statist wholesale index number. Of particular interest to Irish readers are the charts and tables showing the (yearly) fluctuations of the (British) prices of beef, mutton, bacon, wool, butter, hides, wheat, oats, barley and potatoes. As Mr. Barrington lately showed,[1] a history of the decline in tillage and the increase of grazing in Ireland, during the last half of the nineteenth century, may be written in terms of the relative prices of animal and vegetable products during the period. The slight downward trend of the latter from 1860 to 1885 was due to the development of new vegetable producing countries and to the development of sea transport. With increasing prosperity in England a greater surplus of cash was available for spending on animal products, which in consequence increased in price, since the supply failed to keep pace with the increased demand. In confirmation of Mr. Peake's view the reviewer was interested to note, on comparing one of Mr. Peake's charts with one of Mr. G. H. Woods' showing the trend of money (as distinct from "real") wages in England,[2] that the period in the last century during which the rise in wages was greatest (1858 to 1874) about corresponded with the period during which the exchange value of animal products increased most.

In his remaining chapters Mr. Peake deals lucidly with banking problems. This is an original and stimulating book.

R. C. G.

CO-OPERATIVE MARKETING OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE IN ENGLAND AND WALES; REPORT UPON LARGE SCALE CO-OPERATIVE MARKETING IN THE U.S.A. By R. B. Forrester; and *REPORT ON EGG MARKETING IN ENGLAND AND WALES.* London: H.M. Stationery Office. 1925-1926. 1s. 6d. each.

The above three reports form part of a series of publications on economic subjects connected with agriculture issued by the British Ministry of Agriculture. The report on co-operative marketing of agricultural produce in England and Wales contains a full account of all the existing co-operative milk and dairy produce societies, egg and poultry societies, fruit and vegetable societies, slaughter houses, bacon factories and societies for the marketing of wool, grain, fodder and seeds. This side of the co-operative movement has failed to develop to any great degree

[1] Paper read before the Statistical and Social Enquiry Society of Ireland in May 26th, 1926.

[2] *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 1909.

in Great Britain, the principal reason being the failure of the members to support their own societies. There is thus created the vicious circle that farmers do not support co-operative societies because they are convinced that they will not be successful, while the societies cannot be successful unless they are fully supported. The only remedy for this state of affairs is a contract between the society and its members, binding the latter to supply certain agreed quantities of produce each year. With the assurance of such guaranteed supplies the societies would be in a position to trade on such a scale as to enable them to employ an efficient manager at a fair salary. Nothing impedes the progress of the co-operative movement in England more than the small scale upon which its operations are performed.

In this respect the United States present a striking contrast. There the local organisations operating over a limited area are supplemented by a number of large scale co-operative organisations which aim at controlling the sale of a substantial portion of the entire output of a commodity over a considerable area. The extent to which these large scale organisations have developed is the subject of Mr. Forrester's admirable report. Among the other essential features upon which the success of this new type of co-operation depends are the binding membership contract, the pooling of products according to grade and size, the standardisation of quality, the employment of expert managers at high salaries, and the regulation of supplies with a view to stabilising prices. One point of particular interest to British co-operators insisted on by Mr. Forrester is that many of the most successful large scale organisations are concerned with the home market, from which he concludes that an export trade is not a necessary essential for co-operation methods. This lesson should be taken to heart by British farmers, who make the alleged impossibility of co-operative organisation in supplying the home market the excuse for not organising at all.

In the third of the above-mentioned reports, the urgent need for organisation by British egg producers is emphasized. The need for improving the quality of home produced eggs had become doubly urgent since the adoption of standardising and grading legislation by most of the countries, including the Free State and Northern Ireland, from which Great Britain imports eggs. Various schemes for grading according to weight and quality are suggested and discussed.

G. O'B.

Education

THE FOUNDATIONS OF EDUCATION. A Survey of Principles and Projects. By J. J. Findlay, Fielden Professor of Education, University of Manchester. Volume I. The Aims and Organisation of Education. London: University of London Press. 1925. Pp xi., 274. 8s. 6d. net.

THE title of Professor Findlay's treatise would lead one to expect a systematic exposition and discussion of educational principles—a kind of work that is conspicuously lacking in modern English writing. The reader who examines this work in any such expectation will not find it fulfilled. We do not say that he will be disappointed; for he will acquire, with a little measure of painstaking, much varied, not a little candid, information about the multitudinous diversities of education in England. That information, if he reads the work straight through, will be of a piecemeal character. A vast variety of issues—historical, social, administrative, problems of method, every type of problem—are alluded to in the pages of this survey. None of them are in any sense systematically stated or argued. They are alluded to within a casual two or three lines each: the author is a subtle practitioner in modern allusiveness of style. The resultant impression must be said to be heterogeneous. It would be merely that, and nothing more, were it not for Professor Findlay's table of contents, index, and occasional footnotes. These enable a reader to see something of a plan aimed at, even if not realised.

The patient reader, too, will by exercising his own patience on such constantly-used technological symbols as L.E.A., W.E.A., COPEC., N.U.T., I.A.A.M., I.A.M.A., I.A.H.M., succeed in sounding the depths of multiformity which characterise educational organisation in England. For this book is wholly, specially, and technically English, though Professor Findlay occasionally glances at single points in European and American Education. Every problem is envisaged as a distinctively and primitively English problem—be it apprenticeship or boarding schools, public or private education, or anything else. Nay more, every issue is a North of England issue, even a Lancashire and West-Riding-of-Yorkshire issue. Given its general character, it is the more serviceable book because it is thus rigidly localised, and plenteous in parochial details, urban details, village details. All this is to say that the resounding generalisations of the title—a title that assumes a seventeenth-century prolixity in unfolding its world-view—is in no way realised.

Yet the Universal is Professor Findlay's aim. For on page 39 he affirms that "there is only one aim in education, the nurture of the human spirit"—a formula that has little of food for the inquiring student of education. A little later on he improves or amplifies his defining utterance. "Enlarging, then, our brief formula, we repeat that the aim of schooling, in all its occasions and pursuits, is to help our pupils to see themselves and their neighbour in the light of the Universal" (p. 44). At once the author of this larger formula expresses apprehension that this may be termed "mere verbiage." This charge he refutes by saying that aims are not achievements. It is difficult to see how this truism is any answer, and it is at the same time easy to see that there is something more than "mere verbiage" in Professor Findlay's formula. It has all the special characteristics of English Kantianism, both as to its narrowness and as to its imprecision. These qualities are observable not alone in the more theoretic paragraphs of this many-sided volume, but also in the incidental and constant references to single aspects or facets of difficult complex problems of English education. But the Survey will have one special use to the educator outside the Manchester region. He will be illuminated as to the perplexity of mind with which an experienced and distinguished Professor of Education views the educational outlook of the classes and the masses in an English manufacturing area well-known to him, and a source of curious interest, no doubt, to foreign readers. T. C.

TEACHING SCIENCE IN SCHOOLS. By John Brown, M.A., B.Sc., Inspector of Schools under the London County Council. London: University of London Press. 1925. Pp. 170. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

MR. BROWN'S exact position is defined quite early in this general survey. On page 21 he denounces the glorification of heuristic methods and of the school laboratory: he boldly ventures to impeach, by name, not only the British Association, but Professor H. E. Armstrong. The adoption of their views "by the Universities, and by Secondary Schools, has fixed upon our educational system the rigid, narrow, and relatively uninteresting teaching of science so common in our schools to-day." Again, "sciences which do not involve measurement and quantitative work have been completely neglected." Science has been, with remarkable success, limited so as to mean experimental sciences; and the sciences of observation and classification have been practically thrust out.

Mr. Brown's volume shows that there is a stirring of saner

thought in England. He sets out to give science "a wider and more lasting appeal." His book is too short, and it suffers not a little because his programmes for any given period are (see p. 71) much too indeterminate. Thus, for the age 11–12 up to "14 *or* 15," he assigns the "General treatment of important topics from *one or more* of the following: Hygiene and Physiology; Domestic Science; Weather Study; Astronomy; Physics; Chemistry; Botany; Geology; Biology." No wonder that for the period "above 16," he is compelled to assign "intensive study on specialised lines of *one or more* of the subjects enumerated for 11–14 or 15, and *possibly studied* up to "15 or 16." This is not a programme at all. Without a settled order of subjects, there can be no progressive development of methods: and that is the most essential element in education through science. One could wish that Mr. Brown had not omitted to examine the secondary curricula which have helped so powerfully to put Germany, and even France, in the front line of scientific work.

On page 50, in the last place in a long line of topics, is mentioned "biographies of famous scientists." That is the right basis before 16 years of age. Pasteur and Burbank and Mendel would serve to fix a line of human treatment of the sciences: and that is what is needed in general education. T. C.

Fiction

THE BEST SHORT STORIES OF 1925. I. English with an Irish Supplement: II. American. Edited by Edward J. O'Brien and John Cournos. London: Jonathan Cape. 1926. 7s. 6d. net each.

THE HARPER PRIZE SHORT STORIES. Selected by Zona Gale, Meredith Nicholson and Bliss Perry. With an introduction by Bliss Perry. London and New York: Harpers. 1925. 6s. net.

Mr. O'Brien, who contributes an introduction to each of the first two volumes under review, gives us a clue as to the method of selection employed. First and foremost it was required that the stories be "organic," which in plain language means that they must be true to life. This is evidently understood broadly, for included in the English volume are stories like Eleanor Farjeon's "Faithful Jenny Dove" and C. Henry Warren's "While 'Zekiel Ploughed," both strongly marked by fantasy. Even in fantasy, however, writing may be either "organic" or "inorganic," to use Mr. O'Brien's own rather ugly terms. It will be organic only if, once granted the circumstances of fantasy, the evolution of the story does not clash with the leanings of human

nature. The second test applied by the selectors was the obvious one of "form," the shaping of "this living substance into the most beautiful and satisfying form by skilful selection and arrangement . . . . and by the most direct and appealing presentation of it in portrayal and characterization."

The statement of these two criteria does two things for us. It defines the trend of the short-story of to-day, and it explains why on the whole these two volumes of best stories, and even the Harper Prize Stories (characteristically "starred" on the jacket as winners of many dollars), will probably prove rather dull fare to the average reader. For I think it may be roughly said that in every form of fiction, the short story included, there are three main elements of goodness, two of which are the closeness to life and the beauty of form demanded by the selectors of the 1925 stories. The third element may be called the story element, and it is simply a quality in the juxtaposition of incidents that has, quite apart from beauty or *vraisemblance*, some compelling appeal to primal human instincts. You may have incidents uncannily true to life; you may have characters that seem to have walked out of the street into the book; you may have exquisite portrayal and word-artistry, and yet the story may be a dull one because it lacks what Mr. Michael Joseph in his book on the art of short-story writing aptly terms "kick." Now of course story-telling of all kinds from Homer downwards has partaken of these three elements, life, beauty, and—may I use the word—"kick." From age to age the tide of taste has ebbed and flowed in one direction or another, and it would seem very decidedly that the short story of to-day (far more so than the novel) is tending to neglect the "kick" element. Perhaps indeed it would be more accurate to say that the modern short story writer tries to get the "kick" into the life element, and that it is to the clash of passions and instincts rather than to the clash of events that he looks for his effect. Hence the absence of stress on the story element in the choice of Mr. Cournos and Mr. O'Brien. The Harper selectors lay "stress upon design," but the designs they choose are strongly psychological rather than woven from the warp and woof of incident.

I have said that the stories are, on the whole, disappointing. This would seem contradictory if they are in the spirit of the age. And this inward-turning, soul-exploring tendency *is* of the age. One of Mr. Galsworthy's characters rightly calls ours a self-conscious generation. When one looks for a cause of this characteristic, one vaguely thinks of post-war disillusionment, the

speed of modern life and corresponding stress on nerves, the spread of education and with it of self-questioning, even the craze for sham-psychology. But whatever the cause the characteristic is there. The trouble however in the case of the short story seems to be that the writers have got ahead of the tide and are giving us too much of a mode created by our own mentality. There will be in fiction this perpetual ebb and flow (centred to my mind somewhere around Dickens) to the end of time. If the tide swings back a little in the direction of the common yarn-spinning tale, I think the best short stories of, say, 1935 will be better reading. However to readers whose taste has a markedly inward trend these three volumes will prove acceptable. There is no doubt about their craftsmanship.

There is an Irish Supplement to the English story volume—three stories by "Lynn Doyle," Dorothy Macardle, and Liam O'Flaherty. They are all of merit, but call for no special comment. F. McG.

History

THE REFORMATION IN DUBLIN, 1536-1558. By Miles V. Ronan, C.C. London: Longmans. 1926. pp. xxxii+543. 20*s.* net.

THE attempted introduction of the Reformation into Ireland follows step by step the course taken in England three or four years earlier. In 1533 Henry VIII divorced his lawful wife, Catharine of Aragon. In 1534 he declared himself Supreme Head of the Church in England, and abolished the authority of the Pope in that country. In 1535 Fisher and More died martyrs for the faith, and Henry was excommunicated by the Pope. In 1536 the Irish Parliament was convoked to repeat in Ireland what had already been done in England.

At this point Father Ronan begins his task, and in the book before us treats of the progress of the Reformation in Ireland under Henry VIII, the reaction produced by the Calvinistic tendencies of the reformers under Edward VI (1547-53), the imperfect, and not always Catholic, attempt to undo the evil during the short reign of Mary (1553-58). By stopping at 1558 Fr. Ronan enables us to judge the conduct of chiefs and bishops and people during this period (which differed in very many respects from the period that followed) irrespective of whether they repented and returned to the Catholic faith after 1560, or not; and it is no small compliment to Fr. Ronan to say that, in dealing with a very complicated subject, he has introduced order where confusion hitherto reigned. This is due to his judicious

division of the subject, his strict adherence to chronological sequence, his accurate criticism that eliminates the forgeries of Robert Ware and Domingo Lopez, and his historical honesty that allows the records to tell their tale, no matter whose character suffers. Only so can men be appraised as they deserve, and the worthy be separated from the unworthy.

Before we speak in detail of the story unfolded by Fr. Ronan, it will not be amiss to remind our readers that all the bishops of Henry VIII's time, even those schismatically appointed by Henry and those who favoured heresy, were true bishops, ordained and consecrated *ritu Catholico*, thus differing *toto cælo* from the line of Protestant pseudo-bishops of Elizabeth's reign and succeeding times, who were invalidly ordained.

Of the 23 years which Fr. Ronan's book covers, the first seven years are undoubtedly the most important, for during them the foundations were laid for the future propagation of heresy. What exactly happened during those seven years (1536-42)? In 1536, religiously considered, Ireland was a Catholic state; politically considered, English power was still very confined and uncertain. By 1542 Ireland, as far as its leaders could do so, had cut itself off from the Catholic Church, and had renounced its national independence. The authority of the Pope, Christ's vicar on earth, had been rejected, and the lecherous Henry VIII had been accepted as the only Supreme Head on earth of the whole Church of Ireland under Christ. Princes and prelates had agreed to enforce an oath by which "you do and shall from henceforth utterly renounce, refuse, relinquish, and forsake the bishop of Rome and his unjust pretended authority, power and jurisdiction by him claimed and vindicate within this realm: and that you shall [neither] consent nor agree that the bishop of Rome shall practise nor have any manner of authority, jurisdiction or power within the aforesaid realm." Nor was the renunciation of all national rights less explicit: "Forasmuch as the King and his progenitors ever rightfully enjoyed all authority royal by the name of Lords of Ireland, but for lack of the title of king had not been duly obeyed, his Highness and his heirs for ever shall have the style and honour of King of Ireland, and that it shall be deemed high treason to impeach this title or oppose the royal authority."

Truly a startling revolution, and yet one which had been effected with the consent of nearly all the princes and prelates of Ireland, not mere English adventurers, but almost all born Irishmen, of Gaelic or Norman descent. Can it be true?

With regard to the chieftains the fact is undeniable. Their written indentures prove it. At first it is true that the pace was set by a little knot of government officials, some half-a-dozen of whom were Englishmen. Then many of the Anglo-Irish officials

and gentlemen and nobility joined, among whom Butler of Ormond, a cousin of Anne Boleyn's, proved himself a thoroughgoing Protestant. The Irish chiefs opened negotiations with the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of France; but neither Charles V nor Francis I moved. And so by 1542 they made their submission, received titles of nobility, promised to annihilate the primacy of the bishop of Rome, accepted Henry as Supreme Head of the Church and as true King of Ireland, and undertook to serve him and his successors against the whole of creation (*contra omnes creaturas mundi*).

A clear conspectus, which enables us to determine at a glance the religious attitude of the bishops of every diocese in Ireland during these years of vacillation, will be found at pages 308 and 309 of Father Ronan's work. The table gives the names of every bishop of the Irish Church (King's bishops as well as Papal bishops) between 1536 and 1547, together with the year of his appointment, the year of his perversion (if he did pervert), and the state in which he was in 1547 at the time of Henry's death. This summary contains some omissions and some inaccuracies, but in the light of existing evidence is substantially true. We may summarise the results as follows. Including those living in 1536, there were up to 1547, 51 appointments to Irish sees, of which 12 were made by Henry VIII. Of the 39 Papal appointments three were translations, and so the number of persons concerned is 36. Of these 36, six died abroad or did not take up residence in their dioceses, which leaves 30 to be accounted for. Of these 30, there is evidence that 23 accepted the royal supremacy, so that there are only about seven who remained true, or at any rate there are about seven against whom nothing has been proved so far. And as Fr. Ronan points out, practically all these bishops, whether appointed by the Pope or by Henry, were Irish or Anglo-Irish. "During Henry's reign of 38 years scarcely more than 12 out of 73 appointments fell to Englishmen" (p. 304 *n.*).

The documents from which these facts are drawn are chiefly to be found among the English State Papers, and the question naturally forces itself upon us, are these documents trustworthy? Making due allowance for the anti-papal bias of the writers, there seems to be no justification for asserting that the writers of these reports deliberately misrepresented the facts. Henry VIII was not the man with whom officials could hope to play such tricks with impunity. The dissensions among the King's officials in Ireland were so bitter and so continuous, that any such misrepresentation would have certainly been reported to London. There is no reason to suppose that the reports on the clergy are less reliable than those on the laity, which are accepted by all as trustworthy. Contemporary Catholic evidence is scarce;

but as far as it is at present known to exist, it offers nothing in contradiction to the story as read in the English State Papers, but much that confirms it.

The clergy as a body are represented in the official reports as following the same policy as the bishops. They disliked the oaths of supremacy and renunciation of the Pope's spiritual power, but the opposition was soon stilled. They retained their benefices and did not die the martyr's death. That, with few exceptions, they did this against their conscience is proved by their unwillingness to preach the new doctrines from their pulpits to the people, in consequence of which all preaching ceased in Ireland for many years, wherever the government's power prevailed (p. 85).

One exception to this common conformity must be made. The Franciscan Observantine friars, according to the State Papers stood forth bravely in defence of the faith. Their poverty is not a sufficient explanation of their fidelity. It is true that they were poor and had little to lose (p. 239); but so too were the other three Orders of friars, who kept quiet. It was little over half a century since the Observantine reform had been introduced into Ireland. It was adopted rapidly, and many new convents were raised, especially in the Irish parts of Ireland. When Henry's apostasy occurred, they were still in their first fervour, and hence we find them here, as in England, giving the people the lead. Archbishop Browne denounces, on 8 January 1538, "the Observantines which be worst of all others, for I can neither make them swear, nor yet preach amongst us, so little they regard mine authority (p. 82)." He calls them "the Obstinate Religion" (21 May 1538). One of them named Sall at Waterford denounced "the breaking or pulling down of churches and making them profane places" (p. 84). He was arrested and imprisoned in Dublin Castle. Another of them was hanged in his habit at Waterford in January 1539 (p. 122). Agard, a government official, writes of them (5 April 1538), denouncing "in especial the false and crafty bloodsuckers, the Observants, as they will be called the holiest, so that there remains more virtue in one of their coats and knotted girdles, than ever was in Christ and his passion" (p. 88).

During all this time the common people of Ireland remained attached to the Catholic faith. Being poor, they were not asked to take oaths; but their fidelity is proven by the same records as prove the faithlessness of their leaders. From the beginning they saw that heresy was involved in Henry's proceedings. As early as June 1534 Robert Cowley, writing of the rebellion of Silken Thomas, says: "I am credibly informed the said Earl's sons, brethren, kinsmen and adherents do make their avaunt and boast that they be of the Pope's sect and band, and him will

they serve against the King and all his partakers; saying further that the King is accursed and as many as take his part, and shall be openly accursed" (S.P. iii. p. 198); and J. Alen to Cromwell, 26 December, 1534, speaks of them as "alleging the King and his realm to be heretics, digressed from the obedience of the same (the see of Rome) and the faith Catholique" (ibid p. 222). The testimony of the years that follow is concordant. "The usurped power of the bishop of Rome being a thing not a little rooted among the inhabitants here" (Brown to King, 26 September, 1537), and Staples says, June, 17 1738: "The common voice in the Irishry is, that the King's supremacy is maintained only by power, and not reasoned by learning."

A Catholic contemporary (1542) tells us that "there were still to be found in Ireland some upright, simple people who feared God and were devoted to the Apostolic See, men who had not bent the knee to Baal, but they were very poor" (*erant tamen pauperrimi*). But poor though they were and few though they may have been, this *pusillus grex* preserved the faith in Ireland. Their names are unrecorded in the annals of this world, but they are written in the Book of Life.

Our references to the events of the reigns of Edward VI and Mary must be brief. A crisis came when the ministers of Edward VI attempted to introduce the Calvinistic brand of Protestantism into Ireland, attacking the Mass, the Blessed Eucharist and the Sacrament of Orders. One Archbishop, and he a King's bishop, George Dowdall of Armagh, protested, and went into exile. The restoration of Catholicism under Mary was very imperfect. She was full of Plantagenet and Tudor theories on the rights of kings as against the Pope. Some of her appointments to vacant sees were properly made after Papal sanction had been obtained, but others were made by her without waiting for the approbation of the Pope, and these bishops did not hesitate to enter upon their episcopal functions.

In such a work as Fr. Ronan's, embracing as it does all manner of details, complete accuracy is unattainable. Attention however may be called to a few errors. "We do not know for certain if James Fitzmaurice had been appointed" to the see of Ardfert by January, 1539 (p. 123). Now the date of his appointment is quite well known; it was 15 May, 1536. It was quite possible for him to be present at the Clonmel meeting where the Pope's authority was formally renounced. That he had conformed may also be reasonably inferred from the enthusiasm displayed by Lord Fitzmaurice on the occasion of the definite rejection of Papal authority by Parliament in 1541 (p. 258). Ross is said by Fr. Ronan to have been vacant at the time of the Clonmel meeting (p. 123), but Dermot MacCarthy, appointed 6 June, 1526, seems to have lived on till 1552. Tubberboyne *alias* Typperboedan

is wrongly identified with Tipra bo finde at Tara (pp. 202, 492). Hugo O Cervallen Bishop of Clogher, who perverted in 1542, is given as a Papal bishop and not as a King's bishop by Fr. Ronan in 1547 (p. 308). This must be wrong, for Raymond Mac Mahuna was appointed to Clogher, 27 August, 1546, without mention of O Cervallen. The derivation of Navan from An Eamhain (p. 344) has against it all authority; the popular form points to An uaimh or an uamhain. Quoting the Bullarium Secretum Julii Tertii an. 1551, Fr. Ronan says: "This shows Wauchop was appointed Papal Legate to Ireland on 3 July, 1551" (p. 360). Wauchop was really appointed Apostolic Nuncio for Ireland on 6 April, 1551. The correct translation should be of course the Bullarium Secretum of Pope Julius the Third. Fr. Ronan is also wrong in questioning Cardinal Moran's assertion (ibid.) that Wauchop died while "awaiting a favourable opportunity for entering the kingdom." This appointment as Apostolic Nuncio of itself proves he intended to return, a fact that is quite certain from other documents. By a strange misunderstanding of Bale's reference to Sardanapalus, Fr. Ronan transforms Brown, the effeminate voluptuary, into a patron of learning (p. 404). The mistake would not matter much, were it not that Fr. Ronan builds up a false theory upon it. The fact that in 1555 the people of Ireland maintained that the kings of England originally held Ireland by the donation of Adrian IV, is not as asserted (p. 414) "a strong confirmation" of the authenticity of Adrian's bull. Popular belief in a forgery does not prove it true. But these are minor blemishes in a work which, for the first time, has brought order out of the chaos of a complicated period. Fr. Ronan has made a valuable and scholarly contribution to Irish history.

JOHN MACERLEAN.

A HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT WORLD. Vol. I. *The Orient and Greece.* By M. Rostovtzeff. Translated from the Russian by J. D. Duff. Oxford: Clarendon Press. London: Milford. 1926. 21*s.* net.

THE CONQUEST OF CIVILISATION. By James H. Breasted. New York and London: Harper. 1926. 16*s.* net.

EACH of these books forms a very good introduction to ancient history, and though the second is the longer, coming down to the fall of the Roman Empire, they have naturally much in common. Both are histories of civilisation as a whole, giving economic and cultural progress, literature and the arts, full place as an organic part of their narratives, and using archaeological material most lavishly for illustrative purposes. Both authors are masters in their special fields, Breasted as an Egyptologist, Rostovtzeff as a historian of ancient economics, and their books are therefore

more reliable than the second-hand compilations which are so much in fashion nowadays. Of course neither can be expected to give such a point of view in matters like Hebrew religion as would be satisfactory to Catholics, and Breasted tends to be too schematic and doctrinal in his "evolutionary" construction of early history; but provided they are used by well-instructed teachers, they are eminently suited as school text-books. And they are cheap at the price, although it may seem high; their wealth of beautiful illustrations makes them far more than ordinary political histories.

One valuable feature of these books is that they will encourage students to read Greek and Roman history as a development of early Oriental civilisation. Each has a full account of Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Hittite and Aegean history; Rostovtzeff even devotes space to a brief sketch of our knowledge of the enigmatic Haldians of the Vannic kingdom, and Breasted incorporates in his work a summary of Forrer's recently published discovery of the Achaeans on the tablets of Boghaz-keui. *The Conquest of Civilisation* is an enlarged library edition of *Ancient Times*, which appeared before the war, and forms with Robinson's *Ordeal of Civilisation* a complete outline of world history. Of the two before us, Rostovtzeff is the more "personal," and his views on Athenian democracy and on Alexander the Great, for instance, are worth attention from all students. But it is particularly in their pictures and maps that these books are worthy of admiration, and here again Rostovtzeff has perhaps the advantage, publishing many objects which are rarely found together elsewhere, and some which are quite recent discoveries, such as the beautiful early reliefs from the base of the Themistoclean wall at Athens. He relies more on photographs—and fine ones they are—than Breasted, whose sketches are sometimes perhaps a little too much of a good thing. It is to be hoped that all school libraries will begin to stock such books as these, which could be immensely useful under the new Intermediate programme in providing an up-to-date historical foundation for classical studies. As a corrective to whatever unacceptable views they contain, we might be allowed, pending the overdue appearance of such works by Catholic specialists, to recommend Mr. Chesterton's *Everlasting Man*.

M. T.

Philosophy

THE MIND AND ITS PLACE IN NATURE. By C. D. Broad, M.A., Litt.D. London: Kegan Paul. 1925. 16*s*.

Dr. C. D. Broad is a Cambridge Professor who is well-known in scientific and philosophic circles in England as the author of *Perception, Physics and Reality*, and of a more recent work

called *Scientific Thought*. The present volume is a development of the material of the Tarner Lectures which he delivered in 1923. It contains 666 pages well printed on good paper, and is written in a lucid style which is readable from beginning to end.

The title of the book is hardly of the happiest. It seems to warn the prospective reader against embarking on yet another of the nebulous, dreary, and very crude attempts at psychology which are now so fashionable in the best circles of English university life. It is therefore a relief to find that, apart from a few stale but not very obtrusive prejudices against the spirituality and immortality of the soul, curiously coupled with a touching faith in "Psychical Research," the book displays, on the whole, vigour of thought and dislike of philosophic clap-trap. But on this account it is regrettable that some of Dr. Broad's primary and fundamental concepts should be sadly lacking in that stability and precision which are so essential in the foundations of an elaborate philosophical structure.

His volume is divided into five main sections :—

A. *Alternative Theories of Life and Mind at the Level of Enlightened Common-sense.* B. *The Mind's Knowledge of Existents.* C. *The Unconscious.* D. *The Alleged Evidence for Human Survival of Bodily Death.* E. *Unity of the Mind and Unity of Nature.*

None of these sections, still less the innumerable side issues raised by each of them, can be adequately discussed in a review. But it is important to test one or two of the elementary concepts which Dr. Broad is content to weave through the whole texture of his speculations. Let us take the word "Substance," a word of primary importance throughout, and especially in section E. Dr. Broad leaves us quite uncertain of the meaning which he attaches to this word. "Whatever else it may be, he writes, it would seem that it is supposed to be at least a series of events having a certain kind of internal unity and continuity both casual and spatio-temporal, and lasting at least long enough for this unity to be fully manifested." (p. 28). Dr. Broad assumes, in this book, the role of a philosopher, not of a mere physicist or biologist. He is about to enter on a long philosophical examination of the Human Mind. But to do so on the basis of such an exceedingly amorphous notion of "Substance" must be regarded as in the highest degree unphilosophical. Granted the existence of the Human Mind, the questions which naturally arise for the philosopher are: Is it, or is it not, a substance? Is it a material substance like our bodies? If not material, is it thereby excluded from the category of substance? Can there be such a thing as an immaterial substance? These questions are all necessarily touched upon by Dr. Broad in one form or another. But it is

obvious, I think, that we need not look for an answer to them from him. If a substance be a "series of events," what, in the name of "Enlightened Common-sense," is an "event"? If "events" constitute substances, how do "events" manage to exist prior to *all* substances? Dr. Broad apparently does not see that such a definition of substance is a palpable instance of *ignotum per ignotius.*

As the "common-sense view" has nothing to learn from Dr. Broad about the concept of "Substance," so neither has it about that of "Sense Perception." On p. 158 Dr. Broad is supposing that several people are looking at the "top" (*i.e.*, the upper side) of a penny lying flat on a table. He says: "A penny is believed by common-sense to be a round flat object whose size and shape are independent of the observer, his position, and his movements." He continues: "If you give up the view that two different observers can both literally see the same part of the same physical object at the same time, you have given up the neutrality and publicity which are part of the notion of a physical object." (p. 159). From which Dr. Broad concludes that we *must* hold, if we persist in clinging to common-sense, either that the different visions of these observers "have certain qualities which differ from . . . . those which they seem on careful inspection to have, or that the top of the penny both varies and keeps constant in shape and size within the same stretch of time."

The fallacy underlying this, that of omitting to consider the angles of vision, will be patent to any reader. It is no "part of the notion" of any physical object to possess such "neutrality and publicity" that any two observers, viewing it from different angles, should have identical visual perceptions of it. If A looks straight down at a penny on the table, and B looks at the same penny from a point just above the level of the table, their views of the penny will not be exactly the same. But the penny will be entirely guiltless either of "varying its shape within the same stretch of time," or (ghastly alternative!) producing views of itself "which differ from those which they seem on careful inspection to have." The real key to this apparently insoluble problem of Dr. Broad's is the fact that it *is* "part of the notion" of a penny, or of Westminster Cathedral, or of anything else that is visible, to offer a different "visual situation" from different angles of vision without losing anything of what Dr. Broad calls "publicity and neutrality." Dr. Broad overlooks the fact that the "publicity and neutrality" which an object has at one angle are strictly confined to *that* angle. Life on this planet would hardly be tolerable if they were not. A man who, after "careful inspection," *always* saw the back of his house when looking at the front of it, would have great difficulty in entering by the hall-door.

Dr. Broad's treatment of these more elementary ideas renders it unnecessary for us to follow him into the region of "Pure Egos," "Mnemic Masses," and "Multiple Personalities." We fear that these sections will be obsolete before their author is a decade older. They illustrate the futility of any attempt at psychological reconstruction before the foundation of a coherent Epistemology has been laid deep and wide. It is not Dr. Broad's fault, but his misfortune, that the contemporary systems which form his philosophical milieu are totally incapable of providing him with such a foundation. P. H.

ELEMENTA PHILOSOPHIAE ARISTOTELICO-THOMISTICAE. Auctore Ios. Gredt, O.S.B. I.—Logica, Philosophia naturalis (528 pag.); II.—Metaphysica et Ethica (483 pag.). Freiburg: Herder. 1926. M.23 (paper); M.27 (cloth).

The words of Pius X in his commendatory letter to Dom Gredt, on the publication of the second edition of the work under review, may stand as a fair appreciation of the fourth and present edition :—

Perspexisse siquidem in eo opere videmur te recte ac lucido ordine universam philosophicam disciplinam sic, duce Aquinate, attigisse, ut quae veterum sapientia tulit pleniora effeceris, iis adiiciendis quae recentiorum peperit intelligens sapiens iudicium.

Objection is sometimes raised to the multiplication of manuals of Scholastic Philosophy on the ground that it is better to concentrate on a special problem in the hope of finding something new than to weary the world with the mechanical repetition of theses that have not sensibly altered in 700 years. The objection stated in that form is, we think, just. But it has no force against Dom Gredt's book. For in the first place he keeps close to the sources; and in the second place he is abreast of the times.

With regard to the first point, we may note that Dom Gredt takes his stand on the fundamental principles of Aristotelico-Thomistic philosophy. These principles he not only explains briefly, clearly, with a due sense of their dialectical cohesion; but he illustrates them throughout with a full selection of the classical texts of St. Thomas and Aristotle. These texts (those of Aristotle mostly in Greek) are grouped at the end of each section. This plan is a conspicuous advance on any manual we know, and is a great help to restoring the true context of the problems of philosophy. It is always reassuring to know exactly what St. Thomas or Aristotle said about a question.

While we praise Dom Gredt's fidelity to Thomism, we are not always able to agree with his application of those principles to particular problems. We cannot follow him, for instance, in his thesis on the predetermination of contingent futures in the

divine decrees; and we question his unqualified statement (II, p. 290) that Thomists teach that doctrine. There must be a considerable body of Thomists in the world who reject it. Dom Gredt will find several notable examples in his circle of friends in the Roman Academy of St. Thomas; among others a very distinguished professor and writer who, though a strong Thomist, not only does not accept physical predetermination, but, in spite of Dom Gredt's assertion "Thomismus et Molinismus contradictorie opponuntur, ita ut inter utrumque systema non detur medium" (II, 294), equally rejects Molinism, at least as an accurate solution of the problem of contingent futures. Hence it seems more reasonable to recognise that Thomists are not all of one mind on this as on other secondary questions: anyone who heard the discussions at the First International Thomistic Congress in Rome (1924) knows that.

There is one other point. We fully agree that in a Catholic philosophical treatise, and especially in a class book, it is necessary to condemn Kant clearly and frankly. His *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* really ends in a form of agnosticism that has had the worst influence on the philosophy and theology of the 19th and 20th centuries. But we doubt whether it is wise to present him as a sort of village idiot riddled with absurdities and open contradictions (Cf. II, Th 12). In his reaction against empiricism and dogmatism Kant reached a formula for the systematization of sense and understanding that is nearer the Aristotelico-Thomistic view than anything in Descartes and Hume and their respective schools. But beyond that he never went, at least in the *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*. His subtle attempt to restore a basis for science and truth broke down, because he never saw that the passage from understanding to reason can only be effected by a dynamic view of the concept and the judgment. It is the gesture of a sick man, half sustained, wavering and finally collapsing. But it is for all that a positive achievement on this side of death. Hence we think that it is more accurate and loyal and prudent to isolate what is false from what is true and to set both down quite objectively. When that is done the dialectical contradiction that is contained in all intellectual error becomes manifest and refutes itself.

Finally we should add that the two volumes under review are well printed and bound: an important detail in the case of a manual which is sure to be widely used in the schools.

D. S. N.

Social Science

SOCIAL THEORIES OF THE MIDDLE AGES. (1200–1500). By Bede Jarrett, O.P. London: Benn. 1926. 16*s*.

THE title of Father Bede Jarrett's book scarcely gives a definite

clue to its contents. The reader who expects to find a systematic account of mediaeval social theories, such as Mr. Carlyle's work gives us of political theories, will be disappointed. He will find something quite different, and it may be—for in this matter tastes inevitably will differ—something more entertaining. For Father Jarrett is happy in possessing a twofold type of scholarship, theological and historical, not often found together. The average historian who attacks mediaeval theological documents is in danger of becoming an object of mockery to the enlightened. The interpretation of these works requires a technical apparatus of learning which the historian can seldom claim. On the other side the trained theologian only too often knows nothing of the historical environment in which mediaeval theories grew up and flourished. Father Jarrett is competent in both directions, and as a result he has produced a book which will interest at once the theologian, the historical scholar, and the general reader.

His method, in effect, is this. He selects, on no stated principle, the chief aspects or facts of mediaeval social life—law, education, women, slavery, property, money-making, war, christendom, art—gives us some of the speculative theories that have centred in these facts, and illustrates these theories by reference at once to the history of the period and to its general literature. This method in skilled hands can be very entertaining, and Father Jarrett contrives to make it so, showing nice judgment in selecting his illustrations from the literature of the age. The book abounds in interesting quotations, often from sources inaccessible to the general reader. One is glad to make the acquaintance of such a charming writer as Mafeo Vegio of Lodi, whose remarks on education, if occasionally quaint, are a refreshing change from the pseudo-scientific nonsense which one frequently encounters in more recent literature. Robert Holcot too is worth knowing, and a host of other mediaeval writers whom Father Jarrett introduces to illustrate the social theories of their time.

His selection of subjects may strike one as somewhat arbitrary. But on any view the theory of law, with which he deals in Chapter I., lies at the basis of social life. Father Jarrett does not profess adequately to deal with the vast subject of mediaeval legal theory. Law is a subject which belongs to political theory, and Father Jarrett's plan confines him to the social rather than the political side—a division of doubtful wisdom, and perhaps impossible to carry out in practice. He refers, in passing, to the theory commonly attributed to St. Augustine and supposed to be generally accepted in the Middle Ages, that law has its origin in original sin. The suggestion, of course, is that, apart from sin, the legal system on its positive side would not have existed. A recent writer has put this forcibly by suggesting that to the mediaeval mind state organisation and law were an invention of the devil.

This theory, apparently borrowed from Gierke and appearing with monotonous regularity in English historical works, is quite mistaken. It rests, as von Hertling and Otto Schilling have shown, upon a misinterpretation of some passages in St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*. Father Jarrett ascribes the theory also to Alexander of Hales and St. Bonaventure—he might have added Duns Scotus—but the evidence he produces is not convincing. At all events it is quite certain that the theory was not held by St. Thomas Aquinas. I fancy too that Father Jarrett rather over-emphasises the idea that the masterly exposition of law given by St. Thomas was generally accepted in the later mediaeval period. The Franciscan school, and notably Duns Scotus, remained critical, and even rejected some of its fundamental ideas.

The problem of the rival claims of the Papacy and the Empire, arousing much acute political speculation and familiar to modern readers through Dante's *Monarchia* (Father Jarrett refers to it as *De Monarchia*), lies outside the scope of the present work. But there is a chapter on Property in which the merits of Father Jarrett's method of treatment conspicuously appear. He brings the theories of the time into living touch with the historical facts of the feudal system. What will strike the modern reader, however, is not the dependence of the theories upon the facts of the mediaeval social system, but rather their extraordinary detachment and aloofness. This is not so extraordinary as one might at first suppose. The speculative problems presented by the existence of such an institution as private property are identical in every age. The emphasis may shift in different centuries, the method of approach may vary in a theological or a positive time, but the problems remain fundamentally the same. In addition the mediaeval writers had inherited a tradition of immense power, partly from the Greek world, partly from the Church Fathers, and their thought inevitably moved within the limits of that tradition. Father Jarrett is more happy in dealing with the facts than with the theories. I cannot unreservedly accept his account of the theory of St. Thomas. Consider side by side the following statements:—

(1) Very briefly the origin of private property was ascribed to original sin (p. 122). (2) All the scholastics of the thirteenth century, without exception it would seem, asserted that the right to property was an absolute right which no circumstances could ever invalidate (p. 123). (3) The division of private property is not, therefore, a sacred right (p. 125). (4) But because it is lawful to have private property, does it follow by another theological conclusion that it is necessary to have it? . . . . St. Thomas states roundly that he thinks not (p. 126). (5) For him [St. Thomas] the necessity for the division of private property is not a moral necessity arising from the absolute nature of man, but a practical necessity arising from his usual behaviour (p. 127).

All this seems to me a complete misinterpretation of the theory of St. Thomas. Space will not allow me to enter into

the subject here. St. Thomas's view that the division of private property rests on positive law—on the so-called *jus gentium*—seems to have completely misled a number of modern interpreters, who suppose in consequence that he does not regard the institution of private property as inevitable and necessary and founded on the law of nature. For it seems a reasonable conclusion that what rests on positive law can by positive law be changed or modified. And one is amazed to find that St. Thomas can be quoted in favour of communism or some similar theory. But what rests on positive law, according to St. Thomas, is not at all the fact that private property is necessary to civil society—this necessity springs from the law of nature. What rests on positive law is the *actual division* of property. "By nature all things are in common"—a well-known scholastic principle—does not mean that communism is the natural condition of civil society. It is merely an assertion of the very obvious fact that nature does not itself effect the *division* of property. Nature does prescribe that property must be divided if civil society is to be possible; the methods of division, which are found to be much the same everywhere, are rooted in the *jus gentium*.

D. O'K.

Miscellaneous

LE LIVRE DE LA BIENHEUREUSE ANGELA DE FOLIGNO. Documents édités par le Père Paul Doncoeur avec le concours de Mgr. Faloci Palignani. Texte Latin. Paris: Art Catholique. 1926. 30 fr.

THE DIALOGUE OF THE SERAPHIC VIRGIN CATHERINE OF SIENA. Translated from the Original Italian and preceded by an Introductory Essay on the Life and Times of the Saint by Algar Thorold. London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 1926. 10s. 6d.

MYSTICAL PHENOMENA. A Treatise on Mystical Theology. By Mgr. Albert Farges. Translated from the second French edition by S. P. Jacques. London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 1926. 17s. 6d.

WE owe a deep debt of gratitude to Father Doncoeur for his splendid restoration of the genuine text of Blessed Angela of Foligno. For half a millennium students of mysticism have been dependent on the text which is given by the Bollardists in their *Acta Sanctorum ad diem 4 Januar.* This text is more than faulty, as Father Doncoeur shows in his Introduction, for it omits over seventy genuine passages, expands and writes up others, and arranges the whole series of documents as if it were one whole for which the confessor of this saint was responsible. The differ-

ence between the text as reconstituted by Father Doncoeur in collaboration with Mgr. Palignani and that of the Bollandists is so great that the present reviewer had the greatest difficulty in comparing passages of an English translation with the present text. The chapter on the Blessed Eucharist in the English version is half as long again, contains texts from other writings of the Saint, and the order is different. The chapter on the snares of love has also been turned topsy-turvy, and almost looks as if the copy had been shuffled like a pack of cards.

The restoration of the genuine Latin text is a really great work and of the utmost value as Blessed Angela is a descriptive mystic of the very first rank, and many of her texts are classical in mystical theology (*e.g.*, her description of the Great Darkness). This present volume contains only the Latin text with critical notes of a purely textual character and a very able and interesting introduction. The second volume, we are informed, will contain the French translation with explanatory notes. The translator's task will not be very easy, as the Latin is very rough, difficult and often obscure. We look forward to it with the keenest interest, and hope that it will be soon followed by an English version.

Burns, Oates and Washbourne contribute two excellent volumes for our shelf of mystical works. Algar Thorold's fine and vigorous translation of *St Catherine of Siena's Dialogue* has a valuable and interesting introduction, which in little more than a dozen pages gives the ordinary reader a good workable picture of that stormy period when the Pope was under the thumb of the French King, the Babylonian captivity from which the weaver's daughter drew the successor of St. Peter. The ordinary reader, too, will be startled to find how very plainly a Saint can speak when the Most High sends her to rebuke clergy and religious who have forgotten their high calling. And all, learned clerks and unlearned laity, will find in the volume much matter for spiritual profit.

The other volume is the translation of those books of Mgr. Farges we briefly criticised in STUDIES of March, 1925. It is a fine, well printed volume of nearly 700 pages, very controversial and provocative of controversy. We notice that Father Thurston has fallen foul of it, but then he is notably hard to please. Mgr. Farges is accustomed to give and take hard knocks. As we hinted before, he belongs to that anti-mystical school of direction which dreads the very shadow and suspicion of quietism. The whole trend of his work is to show that mystical experience even

in the lowest grades is something miraculous, extraordinary, charismatic. It is Rodriguez and Bossuet in modern dress. It is perhaps a needful reaction against certain exaggerations—aeroplanes are dangerous vehicles—but it may be pushed too far. Those who wish to remove the temptation of contemplation from the silly and the hysterical could do so more usefully by insisting on the severe ascetical apprenticeship it requires, rather than by exaggerating the nature of contemplation itself. It has never been the exclusive appanage of the perfect; but the imperfect who thrust themselves in without procuring a wedding garment are apt to sup sorrow.

Still, despite a certain narrow spirit, this book of Mgr. Farges is, I consider, a distinctly valuable one. His theory of the *species impressa* is a well worked out contribution to the theory of mystical experience. It seems to me a good rationalization of Père Poulain's theory and, within limitations, very valuable. Whether we agree or not on the whole with Mgr. Farges, his book is not one that we can ignore. JOHN HOWLEY.

L'EVANGILE SELON SAINT JEAN. Par le P. M. J. Lagrange, O.P. Paris: Gabalda. 1925. 60 fr.

WITH this volume Père Lagrange completes his commentary on the Four Gospels. As the series entitled *Etudes Bibliques* contained already Père Calmes' *Evangile selon Saint Jean*, Père Lagrange had to decide whether he would re-edit, or rather recast, that work, or write an entirely new commentary. He rightly decided on the latter course.

Père Lagrange is well equipped for the difficult task of commenting on St. John's Gospel. Above all, he has a profound knowledge of the geography and archaeology of the Holy Land. This knowledge he has acquired by long continued residence in Palestine. How important this intimate acquaintance with the Holy Land is to the biblical scholar may be judged from a remark dropped incidentally by Père Lagrange. "It will be remembered," he writes, "that Renan, sceptical as he was, never agreed to reject the historical authority of the Fourth Gospel, for the simple reason that he had taken the trouble to come and read it in the country of Jesus."

In a long and elaborate introduction Père Lagrange discusses the various attacks that have been made on the authenticity, unity, and historicity of the Fourth Gospel. He takes his stand firmly on the side of historical tradition against what he calls "*les chicanes ingénieuses de la critique moderne.*" He shows that

a saner criticism furnishes abundant confirmation of what historical tradition tells us as to the author and origin of the Fourth Gospel.

In the course of his very scholarly commentary on the text, Père Lagrange adopts, on a few questions of minor importance, views that will not meet with general acceptance. Thus he identifies the cleansing of the temple described by Saint John with the cleansing mentioned by the Synoptists. This particular question was controverted as far back as the time of Origen. But it is now generally agreed, by Catholic commentators at least, that Our Lord twice drove the buyers and sellers out of the temple, and that the two expulsions were separated by an interval of two years.

P. Bartley.

Books also received:

Abercrombie, L. ... Romanticism. (Secker, 6/-).
The Idea of Great Poetry. (Secker, 6/-).

Baldwin, S. ... ... The Catholic Negotiation, 1717-1719. (Washington: St. Anselm's Priory, pp. 40).

Barry, Mgr. William ... Memories and Opinions. (Putnam, 10/6).

Beaslai, Piaras ... Michael Collins and the Making of New Ireland. Two vols. (Phœnix Publishing Co., 42/-).

Belloc, Hilaire ... Mr. Belloc still objects to Mr. Wells's "History" (Sheed and Ward, 7d.).

Benedict, Father ... Beathfhéinscríbhinn Naoimh Treasa leis an Leanbh Íosa (The Author, Clarendon Street, Dublin, 6/-).

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Sviluppo Corporeo e Predisposizione Morbose (*Ibid.* L.20).

Brittain, F. ... ... The Lyfe of Saynt Radegunde. (Cambridge University Press, 3/6).

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Cathrein, Victor ... De Bonitate et Malitia Actuum Humanorum. (Louvain: Museum Lessianum, 8 fr. 50).

Cavanna, Nicola ... Del Beato Frate Jacopone da Tode. Vita e Laude contenute nella "Franceschina" del P. Giacomo Oddi. (Assisi: Typographia Porziuncola, L.10).

Chiocchetti, E. ... La Filosofia di Giovanni Gentile. 2nd ed. revised. (*Vita e Pensiero*, L.15).

Cooper, John M. ... Religion Outlines for Colleges. Course II: The Motives and Means of Catholic Life. (Washington: Catholic Education Press).

Cristiani, Abbe L. ... La Sainte Communion dans la Liturgie Catholique. (Aubanel Fils Ainé, 4 fr. 40).

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Dermenghem, Emile ... La Vie admirable et les révélations de Marie des Vallées. (Plon, 12 fr.).

De Wulf, Maurice ... History of Mediaeval Philosophy. Translated by Ernest C. Messenger, Ph.D. Vol. II. (Longmans, 12/6).

Dill, Sir Samuel ... Roman Society in Gaul in the Merovingian Age. (Macmillan, 21/-).

Drinkwater, F. H. ... Homily Notes on the Sunday Gospels. (Sands, 3/6).

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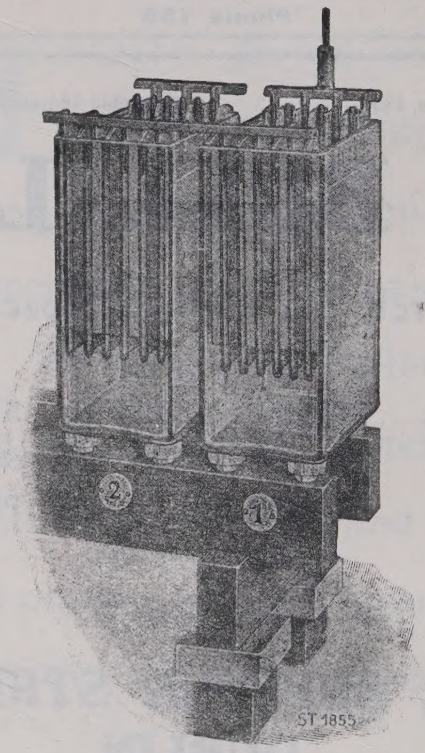

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